

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



129 817

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

FORUM OF THE NATIONS.

A Series of Books

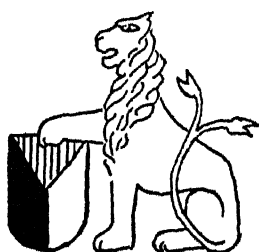
Editor Will Schaber

WE WERE AND WE SHALL BE

ZDENKA AND JAN MUNZER

WE WERE *and*

WE SHALL BE



*The Czechoslovak Spirit through the
Centuries*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY EDVARD BENEŠ

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

COPYRIGHT 1941 BY FREDERICK UNGAR

TRANSLATION FROM THE CZECH AND SLOVAK: *Charles Granville, Villa V. Beckyně*. ADAPTATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT: *Sophie Prombaum, Richard Winston*. DESIGN: *Fred R. Siegle*. Printed in the U.S.A. by *H. Wolff, New York*.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION	9
PREFACE	13
THE CONVERSION OF BOHEMIA	17
AN APPEAL	20
SAXONS IN BOHEMIA	22
THE CHRISTIAN TEACHINGS (<i>Tomáš of Štítný</i>)	23
HUSS AND THE REFORMATION	25
JAN ŽIŽKA, SOLDIER OF FAITH	30
PETR CHELČICKÝ, VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS	33
ALLIES IN THE 14TH CENTURY	40
PLEA TO A HABSBURG (<i>Jan of Perštýn</i>)	43
TRAGEDY OF AN APPEASER (<i>Karel of Žerotín</i>)	46
MASTER AND SERF	49
COMENIUS, TEACHER OF NATIONS	51
HAVLÍČEK, THE PEN AND THE SWORD	56
LIFE WITHOUT DIGNITY (<i>Josef Jungmann</i>)	68
FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ, FATHER OF THE NATION	71
ESCAPE INTO CULTURE (<i>Ladislav Rieger</i>)	87
THE PARDUBICE AFFAIR	90
CZECHOSLOVAKS FOR FRANCE	93
SCAVENGERS AMONG THE NATIONS (<i>Julius Geyer</i>)	97
THE AUTHOR OF "SCHWEJK" (<i>Jaroslav Hašek</i>)	98
TO THOSE WHO DESPAIR	101
WAR AND ART (<i>Otokar Fischer</i>)	106
CZECH DEPUTIES SPEAK	112
PARIS IS NOT FRENCH (<i>Jiří Karásek</i>)	113

FREEDOM AND LITERATURE (<i>Jindřich Vodák</i>).....	118
THE TASK OF LITERATURE (<i>F. X. Šalda</i>).....	120
THE DAY OF JUDGMENT (<i>Otakar Březina</i>).....	122
A PROPHECY COMES TRUE (<i>M. R. Štefánik</i>)	124
THE SLOVAK PROCLAMATION.....	128
CZECHOSLOVAKS AND POLES.....	130
THE WASHINGTON DECLARATION.....	132
THE CZECHOSLOVAK CONSTITUTION.....	137
CZECHOSLOVAK LEGIONS (<i>Rudolf Medek</i>).....	138
THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK.....	140
THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF SLOVAKIA (<i>Milan Hodža</i>)....	159
MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA (<i>Kamil Krofta</i>).....	161
EDVARD BENEŠ.....	163
CZECHS AND SLOVAKS (<i>Ivan Dérer</i>)	172
KAREL ČAPEK.....	184
THE SPIRIT OF THE CZECH UNIVERSITIES (<i>Arne Novák</i>)	191
SLAVERY, 1941 (<i>Frank Munk</i>)	197
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	203

WE WERE *and*
WE SHALL BE

INTRODUCTION

All my life, in all my actions and decisions, I have drawn strength from the traditions of my nation. It is well, nay sublime, to feel that in answering the questions with which our era confronts us we are able to employ the words our forefathers uttered hundreds of years ago. We can feel that our truths are not frail and transitory, that they have been proved in the course of centuries. Thomas Masaryk also had this in mind when he chose for his life's motto the words: "Truth shall prevail." This motto was later incorporated in the emblem of the Czechoslovak State.

As one who spent his life in public affairs and as the President and representative of Czechoslovakia, I have often had occasion to formulate our national policy. There were practical problems which had to be solved in terms of a specific situation. There was often the pressure of time and of external forces which, whether friendly or hostile, had to be taken into consideration. At such times I tried to imagine how our national leaders and thinkers of the past centuries would have acted. It was always a comfort to me when I could convince myself that my own decisions were in harmony with our national traditions, as exemplified by these men.

The democratic and humane ideal has been expressed and defended so uncompromisingly by Czechoslovak statesmen and thinkers of all eras that we are fully justified in terming it the essential element in Czechoslovak tradition. From the victory of Christianity in our country in the tenth century, from the time of Saint Wenceslas to the missionaries, Cyril and Method, the goal of our national effort has remained

fundamentally the same. The religious reformer, Jan Huss; the great soldier, Jan Žižka; King George of Poděbrady; the pedagogue, Jan Amos Comenius; the poet, Jan Kollár; the leader of the national revival, Šafařík; the journalist, Havlíček; or the statesman and philosopher, Masaryk—all of these without exception worked to make liberty and democracy more secure in their native land and in the rest of the world. And the Czechoslovak people have cherished their memory and tried to follow their teachings. It is because of these teachers that the philosophy of might, the idea of the totalitarian state, was never able to take root in Czechoslovakia. And, on the other hand, these men were able to become great leaders in Czechoslovakia only because the whole nation loved liberty, democracy and humanity. The German nation, too, had such great teachers—we need mention only Herder and Goethe—but it paid homage to the conquerors and usurpers like Frederick II, Bismarck, Wilhelm II, and Hitler. Similarly, Italy has not followed the teachings of Mazzini and Garibaldi, but those of Machiavelli and Mussolini.

Today the Czechoslovak nation is again fighting for its freedom, for its own traditional way of life, for its native tongue and its national existence. In this struggle we adhere to the principle which has always formed the basis of our policy—the principle of justice in all things and for all. Of course, I do not claim that this principle was never debased in practice, for that is not possible in the world we live in. Even today, when we have been purged by suffering, we do not pretend to perfection in all things. We can well leave such a boast to those who hold themselves a superior race and a chosen nation. But we do know, and history will agree, that the principle of our nation's existence has been attacked, while we ourselves have erred only in individual cases and in minor matters.

The history of the Czechoslovak nation is full of suffering, but it is also full of courage and faith in the future. We rose

again after frightful oppression, we did not give way to despair, and we always regained our place in the society of free nations. This time, too, we shall rise again. We know that even from the terrible battle that is going on at this very moment shall emerge the ideal of freedom, democracy and humanity, that lofty ideal which, as this book shows, has pervaded our national history. Perhaps Europe also will take the same path some day.

DR. EDVARD BENEŠ

PREFACE

This book could never have been published in Czechoslovakia today; for Czechoslovakia is under the Nazi heel. Indeed, many of the documents in this book, especially those which testify to the Czechoslovak nation's longing for freedom, have been removed from the textbooks now used in Czechoslovak schools. Here in these United States, however, it is possible to publish this book, and that in itself is eloquent.

It is to be expected that the Nazis cannot have any use for it, for the book is a living witness of the antiquity of Czechoslovak culture, the spirit of the Czechoslovak nation, and of a consistent idealism which has stood the test of a thousand years. That the book is appearing here is further proof that the idea of freedom is being given real substance in the United States. Here the spirit of a whole nation has found refuge, despite the efforts of a foreign conqueror to destroy it in its native land.

In this great country the free Czechoslovak press continues to publish, and is able to speak freely in behalf of the Czechoslovak nation. During the First World War it was possible to issue uncensored and in the native language a book containing the verses of the Czech national poet: *The Silesian Songs of Petr Bezruč*. But this could be done only in the United States. Now, too, Czech and Slovak literature of all kinds is freely published in the United States. It is for this freedom—which is the glory of America—that the Czechoslovak nation must fight today. Its true literature must not be published far beyond its native boundaries; the language which is the symbol and expression of the national soul of Czechoslovakia, as it

was during the twenty years of Czechoslovak freedom, must return to the land where Karel Čapek and others made it world-famous.

Some Americans ask—and recently the question has been heard more often than ever—why the smaller nations of Europe cling so persistently to their mother tongue. Americans ask whether the small nations would not benefit by union with some great nation, by merging with it and sharing in its riches. These Americans point to their own country, where nationals of many nations gave up their native tongue and accepted English. This comparison implies the answer:

Firstly: Immigrants always came to the United States voluntarily, even when they were fleeing from their native land. They might have gone elsewhere. And they must have realized beforehand that in coming to a land so new and strange—even though it later became their sole native land—they would have to bow to the will of the majority, not only where language was concerned, but also in mode of life, in point of view, and in a hundred other ways. They made their decision freely and without compulsion.

Secondly: All the national groups which make up the United States are permitted to retain their cultural centers and their press, and some groups even have their literature printed in the language of their former native land. The result is that the immigrant to America becomes acclimatized, Americanized in a wholly natural, progressive and gradual manner, without outward pressure. Many immigrants who came here late in life found not only a new country, but also a piece of their old homeland. There were lodges, the native quarters of large cities, even whole regions populated mainly by one national group. They found also their native press and literature, which developed freely here while terror and persecution reigned in Europe. Their children grew up in the United States as Americans, even though their fathers and mothers were often

too old to change their language or their customs. Because there was no compulsion, because the Europeans were able to retain all the worthwhile things they brought with them from Europe, they loved this country. This loss of one nationality and acquisition of another is a magnificent democratic metamorphosis, and it is the most splendid victory of America over Europe.

Perhaps Europe will also eventually create a common language which all nations will use, not because they must but because they wish to—out of mutual respect, out of the need to understand each other, and out of the desire for harmony. However, it must not be forgotten that it was the variety of cultures which brought European culture to its present eminence. And small nations, if they are free and able to develop without hindrance, are very often equal in many spheres to the great nations. Czechoslovakia, in her twenty years of freedom, was proof of this.

A European Union, however, can also develop only out of mutual understanding and mutual respect. Force can never attain what love accomplishes easily and naturally. Hitler's Germans have failed to comprehend this simple truth, just as the Habsburg Monarchy failed. For three centuries the Habsburgs strove by terror and persecution to transform Slovaks into Magyars and Czechs into Germans. The United States abolished racial slavery and did not try to enslave its new immigrants spiritually by language restrictions. Germany, on the other hand, has enslaved millions of Europeans. In the past she has often attempted the same thing, and today she seems more successful than ever before. But this success is only apparent. She cannot succeed. Man was born to freedom and the free use of his native tongue. He may give it up voluntarily, but never under compulsion.

That is why the United States has been able to establish a common language, and this is why Europe cannot now do so.

A slave will never voluntarily speak the language of his master. And he will find consolation in the knowledge that his compatriots, more fortunate than he, are able to employ his native tongue in a foreign land. He will not cease to hope that his native tongue, though temporarily exiled, will ultimately return home. And he will be able to hold up his head because the spirit of his country, though silenced at home, still lives and speaks somewhere in the world.

The editors earnestly hope that Americans of good will may find inspiration in the expressions of the Czechoslovak spirit that are contained in this book; and that they will not fail to reflect on the circumstances of its publication.

The object of this book is by no means the presentation of extensive information on the history of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people. The documents—reproduced here with but few cuts—speak for themselves, and the book will fulfill its purpose if it gives the reader some conception of the Czechoslovak tradition. The editors have excluded all matter of secondary importance and everything that would have necessitated lengthy explanations. There is an introductory note to each chapter, but these have been kept as brief as possible. For readers who are interested in particular details, a bibliography on Czechoslovakia has been appended.

THE EDITORS

THE CONVERSION OF BOHEMIA

The geographical position of Bohemia made it a favorite prey of mightier neighbors from the very beginning. An example of this is the decline of the Empire of Greater Moravia, of which history first makes mention in the early part of the ninth century. This Greater Moravian Empire included Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and part of Austria. Its reigning prince, Rastislav, wished to free himself from the overlordship of the King of the Franks, Louis the German, and to ally himself with the Byzantine Empire. He, therefore, in 863 A.D., dispatched messengers to Emperor Michael III in Constantinople and requested that Christian missionaries be sent to Moravia. Thus it was that the Slav missionaries, Cyril and Method, came to Moravia. Their activities are described in an old legend, of which the following passage is an extract. However, Louis the German recognized what Rastislav was about and waged several campaigns against him. In the year 870 he succeeded in deposing Rastislav from the throne, and around 906 A.D. the Empire of Greater Moravia was destroyed by a combined attack of Arnulf, the King of the East Franks, and the Mongol Magyars. Later, at the beginning of the eleventh century, the Magyars took part of the Greater Moravian Empire, chiefly Slovakia, which continued under Magyar rule for nearly a thousand years.

When the Almighty wished His shining spirit to spread the holy rays of the Christian faith over the whole earth, there arose a holy man by the name of Cyril, who came to the country called Bulgaria where he converted the people to the Christian faith. And then he went into Moravia, and the Moravian people likewise turned to God.

Now, in order to induce the people in those rough times to gather for divine services, Cyril bethought himself that with the aid of the Holy Spirit divine services should be held in the Slavonic tongue. And he translated into Slavonic all the writings of the Old and the New Testaments.

Then Moravia was left in the care of Saint Cyril's brother, who was called Method, while Cyril went to Rome on affairs of the Church. And there the Holy Father and other wise men upbraided Saint Cyril for allowing the service of God to be sung in Slavonic. But Saint Cyril said: "All spirits praise God in all tongues. Since the Lord made the Slavonic tongue as well as the other tongues, He inspired me to do what has turned many erring folk to the Holy Faith." And they heard him and wondered at his firm faith, and confirmed and ordained that the service of God in those countries should be sung and held in the Slavonic tongue. And this is done up to the present day. As confirmation, Saint Cyril obtained letters from the Holy Father and sent them to those countries. And then, having served God faithfully, he died in a state of blessedness. Now his brother Method in Moravia was made Archbishop by King Svatopluk of Moravia, with seven other bishops under him.

Now in the days when the Czech land still erred in its faith and prayed to pagan idols, there was a woman renowned for her wisdom, though she practiced magic. Her name was Libuše, and the city of Prague was built in accordance with her prophecy. And when the Czechs elected as their prince a certain farmer of great wisdom, named Přemysl, he married Libuše. Out of this marriage came Czech princes and kings renowned throughout the world.

After many years, there sprang from this line the Czech Duke Bořivoj, a man of great bounty who was tall and full of wisdom. When Bořivoj heard the holy words of Archbishop Method he was moved by the Holy Spirit and urged the Archbishop to baptize him. The next day Father Method granted

the prince's repeated request and baptized him, together with the thirty servants who accompanied him. And a certain priest named Kaik who had come with them was confirmed in the Holy Faith and returned into Bohemia where he began to preach in a church called Hradčany. The priest was put at the head of this church. Meanwhile, the people of the Czech land vied with each other in accepting the Faith. And soon Father Method came to Bohemia, where he baptized Saint Ludmila and many others, through whom the Holy Faith was greatly increased in the Czech land.

(975)

AN APPEAL

Přemysl Otakar II, one of the most renowned of Czech kings, was killed in the battle at Duernkrut on the 26th of August, 1278. He was defeated by Rudolf the Habsburg who, in 1273, had been elected German Emperor against the will of Přemysl Otakar II. The petition in which the Czech king appealed to the Polish princes certainly does not sound as if it were written in the thirteenth century. It demonstrates that the problems of modern Europe are strikingly similar to the problems of medieval Europe, and that the danger which threatened Europe seven centuries ago is as real as ever. This petition is one more dramatic proof that there is little new in the history of Europe; we shall be doing well if we succeed in solving a problem that is seven centuries old. It shows that the conflicts and problems confronting us are essentially one conflict and one problem: how can we unite Europe against the aggressor?

Among all the nations in the world the Polish nation is the most similar to ours. We are bound together by a common language, common origin and blood relationship, the proximity of our countries. Therefore the Polish princes, nobility and people are dear to our hearts. We rejoice in your success, strive to increase your honor and glory, to shield you against your enemies. At the same time we rely upon your help in time of need.

Therefore, having decided to take our stand against the insults and persecution of the German King Rudolph, we now pray you to come to our aid. Surely you realize that, if we succumb, the insatiable gullets of the Germans will open wider and their destructive greed will strike your country as well. We are a solid bulwark for you, but if we do not withstand

their attack, great danger threatens you. Mere subjugation of your country will never satisfy their rapacity; they will seize your estates and encumber you with crushing burdens. What untold persecution will then be the lot of your nation, which the Germans hate so much! Free Poland will fall into cruel bondage, and the conqueror's fury will ravage your nation . . .

And so we beg of you, hearken not to them but to us, your kin, and arm yourselves mightily for our defense, since in helping us you will be helping yourselves . . .

(1278)

SAXONS IN BOHEMIA

The Czech chronicler of the fourteenth century has shown in a few lines the eternally recurrent tragedy of the Czechs. His name was Přibík Pulkava of Hradetín. It is known that he died in the year 1380. In 1374 he began to write the Czech chronicle, which goes as far as the year 1330. It is from this chronicle that this selection has been taken.

In those days (i.e. after the death of Přemysl Otakar II, in 1278), Czech lands were greatly mismanaged, for many Saxons and other Teutons broke into the country and tortured the Czechs so terribly that many of them left their homes and went into the forests to live. . . .

And the country was devastated and many churches destroyed by the violence of the Germans.

(1374)

THE CHRISTIAN TEACHINGS

Tomáš of Štítný's dates are approximately 1330-1400. He has been called the Father of Czech philosophy. His chief work is Friendly Conversations, a work in the form of talks between a father and his children in which he expounds a philosophy based on the teachings of Christianity. Though a layman, the greater part of his writings were devoted to religious themes and he was a close disciple of St. Augustine. Much of his work consisted of translations from scholarly Latin essays. Štítný, however, often elaborated upon the originals.

Štítný was one of the predecessors of Huss, with definite tendencies toward reform; but on the whole he accepted the dogma of the Catholic Church. However, he was skeptical of the doctrine of miracles, opposed pilgrimages and indiscriminate pardoning, and took a particularly critical stand toward the monasteries. Unlike the valiant Huss, he preferred meditation to action, and his chief aim was to acquaint the masses of the people with religious learning and religious problems. That is why, unlike most of his contemporaries, he abandoned Latin and usually wrote in the Czech language. He made a definite contribution to the development of the tongue. His democratic outlook is well expressed in his books on the teachings of Christianity, from which an extract is cited here.

TOMÁŠ OF ŠTÍTNÝ

The master shall not permit any evil among his servants, neither lies nor unbecoming speech, blasphemy, dice-playing, quarreling, illicit love-making, thieving, slanderous talk. For the master will have to answer grievously for whatever evil

or abomination takes place among his servants through his negligence.

Therefore every master must be lord over his servants in order to prevent shameful doings among them. But he must first attempt to prevent such things by persuasion. An old vice must be cured slowly so that a new one may not arise in its place. But if kindness fails he must exercise his rights as master. Remember that Eli, the priest in the Old Testament, was a good man whose sons nevertheless did evil. He said unto them, "Ye do evil!" But he did not manfully punish them for it, thus bringing down the wrath of God upon himself. This is a warning to all fathers and masters who are lax in punishing their sinful servants.

Let every master take good care not to acquire property by ill means, a sin of which it is most difficult to repent. For the Evil One has struck men with a great blindness so that they would rather give alms to monasteries or build churches than restore ill-gotten gains. . . .

Therefore, because it goes against the grain to return such gains, one should never appropriate what is another's, especially wages. When a man has done his work pay him at once and do not delay until the morrow. For he may have nothing to eat this evening, or he may not be able to come for his wages later on.

HUSS AND THE REFORMATION

Jan Huss is not only the outstanding figure of the Czech Reformation, but also the spiritual leader of the Czech nation. He stands as the great figure of one who was an undaunted fighter for his beliefs. Born about 1370, he died on July 6, 1415, in Constance, where he was lured by the Emperor of Germany, Sigismund, who had pledged him safe-conduct, but who betrayed him and gave him over to be tried and burned at the stake. Huss had to face the Council at Constance, who had summoned him to trial because of his criticism of the Catholic Church. Huss had denounced the abuse of indulgences and the sinful life of the higher clergy. He firmly defended his principles, maintaining that he would not recant unless a thorough discussion was held and his views were proved to be heretical. The Council refused the discussion and sentenced Huss to be burned at the stake.

Huss left a lasting influence on Czech literature through his writings, through his reform of the Czech orthography (it was he who introduced diacritical markings), and through his establishing the Prague dialect as the literary language. It was Huss who persuaded the Czech King, Václav IV, to use the Decree of Kutná Hora on January 18, 1409, which reformed the Charles University of Prague, founded by the Czech King, Charles IV, in the year 1348. The university had become dominated by foreign and especially German influence. The decree ordered that the Czechs be accorded their rightful place. This resulted in the exodus of Germans, some two thousand students and masters, who left for Leipzig where they founded a new university.

Huss, therefore, is honored by the Czech nation not only as a champion of the truth but also as a champion of national rights.

The most popular of his numerous works are his Letters from

Prison. *A passage from his manuscript, The Interpretation of Faith, has become a household word throughout Bohemia. The words: "It is the truth that makes us free" are even today the slogan of the Czechoslovaks, sharing honors with Masaryk's motto: "Truth shall prevail" which is contained in the emblem of the Czechoslovak State. The concluding words of this passage are carved upon the base of the Huss monument, on the Staroměstské Náměstí in Prague, a statue which the people deck with flowers today as token of their hope and their faith.*

INTERPRETATION OF FAITH

It is not worthy of a man to take things lightly. He should rather yield to divine truth and abide by it steadfastly unto his last hour. For only the truth makes us free. Jesus said: "If you abide with me, verily you shall be my disciples and you shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free." Therefore, faithful Christian, seek the truth, listen to the truth, teach the truth, love the truth, abide by the truth, and defend the truth.

MESSAGE TO THE CZECH PEOPLE

Master Jan Huss, hopeful servant of the Lord, prays that all Czechs who love our Lord faithfully now and forever may be blessed with God's Grace in life and death, when they shall pass into eternal heavenly joy. Amen.

Men and women, faithful and beloved of the Lord, rich and poor! I pray you and remind you to love the Lord, our God, to praise His Word, to hearken to It and obey It gladly. I pray you to preserve God's truth, contained in the Law of God and the messages of the saints, of which I have written and preached to you. I pray you also, if anyone has heard me preach or secretly utter anything against God's truth, or if I have written anything of the kind, to pay no heed to it. I pray you further that those who have found levity in my speech or action may not be guided thereby. Let them rather pray to God that He may graciously forgive me. I pray that the priests

may love, praise, and honor virtue, as well as those who labor for the Word of God. I pray that they may avoid deceivers and especially unworthy priests, of whom the Saviour says that they wear sheep's clothing but are ravening wolves underneath. I pray you, be kind to your poor and treat them justly. I pray all citizens to deal honestly in their business. I pray all artisans to do and use their work faithfully. I pray all servants to serve their masters and mistresses faithfully. I pray the teachers to lead an exemplary life and to teach their scholars well, to love the Lord and to study for the sake of His glory, for the sake of the common weal and for the sake of their own salvation, but not for the sake of their greed and worldly aggrandizement. I pray all students and other scholars to obey and follow their teachers in all good things, and to study diligently for the glory of God and for the salvation of themselves and others. I pray all of you together to thank these honorable gentlemen: Václav of Dubá, also of Leštná; Jan of Chlum; Jindřich of Plumlov; Vilém Zajíc; Myška, and the other gentlemen of Bohemia and Moravia, and the loyal gentlemen of the Kingdom of Poland, and to be grateful for the zeal with which they often opposed the entire Council as brave defenders of the Lord and champions of the truth, testifying and answering for me so that I might be set free. And most of all you shall believe what the honorable Václav of Dubá and Jan of Chlum shall tell you, for they were in the Council for a number of days when I was testifying. They know which of the Czechs made unworthy charges against me, and how the whole Council shouted me down, and what I answered, and what was demanded of me. I also beg you to pray for His Majesty, the King of Rome and Bohemia, for your Queen, and for the noble Lords, that God may be with them now and later in the realm of eternal bliss.

This was written to you while I lay fettered in jail, expecting to be sentenced to death the next day, yet trusting fully in

God, Who will never let me stray from His truth nor recant my words which false witnesses have called heresies. When by the grace of God we meet again in His blessed realm, you will see how merciful the Lord has been to me and how He did not forsake me in my strange temptations. Of Master Jeroným, my dear comrade, I hear nothing except that he suffers severe imprisonment, like myself awaiting his death for the sake of his faith which he bravely taught the Czechs.

I beg you also, especially you citizens of Prague, to give your patronage to the Bethlehem Chapel and to preach God's word there as long as He in His mercy will allow it. On account of this chapel the devil was seized with wrath. He incited the priests and prebendaries against it when he saw that his kingdom in that city was being destroyed. I beseech the Lord to save this chapel, if it be His will; and may He cause others to do more good there than was given to my unworthy self to do. And I pray you to love each other, never to let the righteous be oppressed, and to grant everyone free access to the truth.

Set down the night before St. Vitus Day, after the good Angelus.

Exposition of the Ten Commandments

I say this to my conscience that if I knew a foreigner who was virtuous and loved God more and strove for the good more than my brother, he should be dearer to me than my own brother. Good English priests therefore stand higher than unworthy Czech priests; a good German is dearer to me than an evil brother.

Postilla

For the honor and benefit of Holy Church I love foreigners of an honorable and more charitable Church more than my own brother if he be less charitable than they.

Nine Pieces of Gold

He who humbles himself before the least of men honors God more and benefits his own soul more than if he wandered from one end of the world to the other and shed his blood in every footprint. He who shows mercy to anyone for God's sake, honors God and benefits his own soul more than if he had been taken up to the third heaven like St. Paul.

JAN ŽIŽKA

SOLDIER OF FAITH

Jan Žižka of Trocnov, Czech military leader and the chief military genius of the Hussite Wars, was born about 1360 and died in the year 1424. After a restless life of soldiering, he entered the service of the Czech King, Václav IV, and under the influence of Huss became an adherent of the Reformation. Later he left the King's service, placed himself at the head of the movement, and created a people's army composed of peasants and townspeople. The chief task of this army was to defend religious liberty and the Czech Reformation against almost the whole of Europe. Žižka successfully held his own, even against the armies of the Emperor Sigismund. He developed new tactics, and made use of iron-plated wagons which were, to a degree, the predecessors of the modern tank. During the last years of his life he was still able to lead his army to victory, though he had lost the sight of both eyes. The spirit that dominated his army was democratic and deeply religious. This spirit was expressed in the so-called Articles of Prague (1419) to which Žižka refers in his first proclamation, which follows.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF PRACHATICE

May our Lord and Master Jesus Christ be with us, Who so bitterly shed his blood for us all. Amen!

Brethren and Dear Neighbors!

It has come to our ears that we are said to be your enemies. We believe that as our good neighbors you will in no way believe such a statement. But it is true that we are enemies of all priests and civilians who in writing or in deed oppose the Holy Gospel and ourselves. We also make known to you that

all evil-minded Christians oppose us on account of the following four articles of our faith:

First, that the word of God should be preached throughout Christendom, which is not yet being done.

Second, that the real body of Christ and His holy blood shall be administered to all true Christians, young and old.

Third, that no priest, from the highest to the lowest and most insignificant, be allowed to intimidate the people, neither with regard to property nor dues, and that laymen shall balk every attempt of the priests to attain such dominion.

Fourth, that all manifest sins shall be checked, whether of kings, nobles, governors, priests, or other clerical or lay persons.

Therefore I am fully confident that you, my beloved brethren, will accept these truths as we do and will assist us against all hypocrites and faithless Christians who oppose these holy truths. I ask you to give me your answer in writing. If you do not, we shall assume that you choose to be an enemy of God and of all the Tábor brethren.

ŽIŽKA CALLS THE MEN OF DOMAŽLICE INTO THE FIELD

. . . Beloved brethren in God, I beg you to be steadfast in the fear of God and to accept His punishments meekly. But remember the Author of your faith, the Lord Jesus Christ, and stand up manfully against the wrongs you are suffering at the hands of the Germans. Let the ancient Czechs who valiantly fought for God and for themselves be your example. Dear brethren, we must defend the Law of God and the common weal. Therefore let every man who can take battle-axe in hand or fling a stone be ready.

We are now gathering the people together from all sides against these foes and destroyers of Bohemia. Let the priests arouse the people by preaching against this Antichrist. And

see to it that everyone, young and old, is ready at any hour. . . .

Remember our first conflict when we, the small against the great, the few against the many, the unarmed against the armed, fought so well. There is still a just and all-powerful God! Let us trust in Him and take strength for what is to come.

PETR CHELČICKÝ

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS

Petr Chelčický, religious thinker and one of the spiritual fathers of the Czech Reformation, lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, circa 1390 to 1460. He was an admirer of Jan Huss and was friendly with the pupils of Huss, Jacob of Stříbro and Jan Rokycana. Of his life, all that is known is that he came of a country squire's family and so belonged to the lower aristocracy. He spent his entire life in the southern Bohemian village of Chelčice. Petr Chelčický was one of the founders of the Unity of Brethren, branches of which still exist and are spread throughout the world. (In the United States the Unity is known as the Moravian Brethren.) In the seventeenth century Comenius was the Bishop of this Unity of Brethren.

Chelčický applied the principles of his faith to his daily life; he distributed his wealth and lived in utter poverty. The spiritual, religious life, he felt, was entirely incompatible with a worldly life. He expressed this belief in numerous writings, the greater part of which, however, were destroyed by the Inquisition. The most important among those of his books which were saved is The Network of the True Faith, written about 1400. Chelčický, following the teachings of Wyclif and Huss, rejected the Catholic Church, particularly its hierarchic organization. The secular organization of the Church appeared to him to be in conflict with the inner faith and devotion to God which is necessary to the true Christian. His attitude is reminiscent of the Dane, Kierkegaard, from whom Chelčický differs in the simplicity of his mind and the artlessness of his language. Chelčický was so strongly opposed to all worldliness that he refused to do battle with the worldly institutions.

This led him to the motto, "Resist not evil," which Tolstoy, who wrote the foreword of the Russian translation of Chelčický's The Network of the True Faith, wholeheartedly accepted. It is worthy of mention that Masaryk, who resolutely rejected Tolstoyan quietism, also rejected this doctrine of Chelčický, though he esteemed him as a religious thinker and the pioneer of the Czech Reformation. In the writings of Chelčický there is also a strong social note—which, indeed, is true of almost all the Czech religious thinkers of the Hussite era, for they saw the idea of democracy as proceeding from the spirit of religion.

OF THE SECULAR POWERS

How can the secular power and its office be necessary to works of faith, which are spiritual and intangible and cannot be done by favor or enforced by violence since they flow solely from good and free will and the grace of God? For faith's good works are the love of God and of one's neighbor. The fulfillment of the law is love which cannot be engendered in the human heart by the sword of the secular power. It descends rather from the Father of Light on high into hearts of good will, whom it delights to love God and do His will according to His commandments. On the other hand, how can secular office and power befit those who are bound by God's commandment not to revenge themselves when they suffer injustice? Rather they must turn the other cheek and never repay evil with evil, leave vengeance to God, love their enemies and do good unto them, give them food and drink if they be hungry and thirsty, and pray for them. Such are the good works of our faith and God's commandments. Where does the secular power stand with regard to this? We know that all who follow in the footsteps of Christ do so in humility and patience, in obedience, in peace and good will, in honest unity without complaint against each other. Therefore no cruel and unfeeling secular office in power can do the works done by the followers of Christ. For not every tool is suitable to every trade;

but each trade requires its own appropriate tool. The blacksmith cannot hold the iron in the fire with a spindle, nor can grandmother spin with the blacksmith's tongs. But the tongs well befit the blacksmith and the spindle the grandmother.

Similarly, the secular power is fitted for other work than the disciples of Christ. The secular power may serve only to spur the followers of Christ by unjust oppression. Or it may kill them for bearing His name. Thus, through innocent suffering they become the true disciples of Christ. Also, the secular power fosters the righteous insofar as it does good to all and strives for equality and peace. Thus it does good to both the wicked and the righteous.

But most of all this power is needed against wanton trouble-makers, men without love who try to oppress others unjustly in order to influence, guide and master them in their earthly concerns.

What constitutes the worldliness of this power? For the sake of earthly power and worldly glory it embraces a host of sinners. It rules them in order to enrich and elevate itself in this world and in order to enjoy voluptuous pleasures. But in order to rule the host of transgressors the secular power must use severe measures against all those inclined to do wrong. By force and by such law as will superficially promote the temporal good it must tame and guide these men who would disturb others and oppress them unjustly, steal, rob and even kill. And so these powers represent an instrument of God with regard to the earthly, temporal good by which the generations of mankind must be guided in their temporal life and in the temporal needs of the flesh.

ON THE THREE CLASSES

It is evident that there are too many classes of priests and of nobles, and that all want to be lords, knights and squires. For it is easy to ride about on splendid horses and indulge in

boasting talk, abuse the common people, calling them varlets and donkeys, skin them like lime trees, crack their heads, eat and drink of the very best, idle and lounge about from place to place, indulge in empty talk and commit all manner of sins without shame. In every castle and town such ne'er-do-wells increase. They are powerful enough to do violence to the community and impose tribute. They thrive on the fat of the land, feasting and living worthless lives. Therefore, let it not be deemed Christian to divide people into three classes (the priesthood, the nobility and the common people) making the one class oppress others and yet to consider them with those whom they oppress as limbs of the same body. Let us leave all this to the pagans, for it has nothing to do with the faith of Christ and with his spiritual body.

THE GODLESS GENTRY

All the merit of noble birth rests upon a falsehood invented by the heathens aiming to win their coats-of-arms from emperors and kings. Some are granted a coat-of-arms for heroic service. Others purchase one, such as a portal, a wolf's or dog's head, a ladder, the half of a horse, a trumpet or dagger, a pig's ham or the like, to gain honor. Upon such coats-of-arms hangs the merit or dignity of noble birth. The glory of noble birth is supposed to be the same as the glory of such an escutcheon. But if they did not have the money to support their nobility, hunger would force the gentry to forsake their escutcheons and reach for plows instead. Thus money alone creates the honor of their escutcheons and the glory of their birth. But where money is lacking they stand on the same level as the peasants, except that they are ashamed to work and often have no bread to eat.

There are many such nobles who pride themselves on their escutcheons. And their descendants do likewise. For does not a coat-of-arms make a man's birth honorable high above mere

descent from Adam? Thus he who owns a ladder or the half of a horse, proving that he is "well-born," is given a scroll attesting that he is of better birth than Abel, the second son of Adam, and that he has a "good" name forever. And no matter how evil his conduct, his escutcheon does not admit of his being evil. But in order to be considered truly "well-born" he must prove beyond a doubt that his grandmother and grandfather on his mother's as well as his father's side were "nobles." Only such ancestry makes him a true and undeniable descendant of the dog's head. Without this he smells of peasant in spite of his dog's head. Then shame humbles him to the ground, for his heraldic emblems are not sufficient to prove his nobility and he cannot proclaim his high origin. If, on the other hand, his neighbors were asked to testify to his nobility, their accounts of his brutish and violent way of life would prove something very different. He would never lift his eyes again if he could feel shame.

Therefore their escutcheons are the glory of the nobility. The greater the glory of an escutcheon, the more honorable he who was born to it. Thus, since great glory attaches to half a painted horse he who traces from it his noble origin enjoys the same glory as the half of a painted horse.

THE GODLESS TOWNSPEOPLE

Now we shall treat of the treacherous townspeople, who serve the Antichrist in his struggle against Christ. They are a wicked lot, full brazen in doing evil, abetting each other in their determined struggle against the truth, which they smother with hypocritical cunning. This wicked horde of arrogant scoundrels who follow in the footsteps of Judas, pretend to respect and welcome the true faith. But it is wrong to number these townspeople among those of our faith. Because of their worldliness they are both akin to and favored by our pagan secular powers. Thus they have most grievously torn asunder

the net of our faith. They are even akin to the crested gentry with whom they pull together in many ways. Moreover, this town rabble has greatly multiplied and become a powerful stronghold of worldliness and an arm of the Antichrist. Thus he prevails against Christ. For the web of faith could not hold all this rabble and remain whole; it was torn by their warfare against Christ's truth until nothing was left of their faith but false and lifeless semblances of faith and the unrightful name of Christians.

And their wickedness stands upon an evil foundation, upon Cain. Deep is the source of their evil. If they were but outside of the faith like true heathens and did not hide behind the wounded body of Christ there would be nothing surprising in their wicked practices. Like the ignorant heathen, they considered only their earthly and temporal life of value. And who would chide them therefor, no matter how, in their ignorance, they sought the pleasures of the flesh. Their ignorance I could accept, nor should I invoke God to judge such pagan ignorance. But the mingling of paganism with faith is an injury to faith. For it seeks to partake of faith and the devil at the same time, so as to suppress what faith holds to be good. Thus it causes faith to diminish constantly and be injured by Judases who do the devil's handiwork. With the outward semblances of faith and with lip-service they cover up their own ugliness and kill faith constantly, extinguishing it in themselves and in others and consigning it to oblivion. A lie numbers them among the faithful, yet they are faith's inborn and deadly enemies.

Therefore we ask men not to combat each other but to reflect and compare. (Surely it is more worthy to unite the disunited than to disperse them.) Well then, let them follow our good example! Our work tries to begin where no contradiction will divide us or make us distrust each other. We advance step by step, always avoiding what might offend, so that Jews, Turks, heathens (even we Christians, who are entangled in conflict-

ing opinions) can singlemindedly regard and continue our labor of peace until we all feel encircled by the light of truth. Thence we shall not easily turn back but only go forward toward greater enlightenment. At last we shall find ourselves in common truth and harmony with all others.

Let us do this for the glory of God, the Lord of light and truth! Judge for yourselves whether we can achieve this and help us, so that we may at long, long last achieve it somehow.

ALLIES

IN THE 14th CENTURY

The present treaty of alliance between the Czechoslovak and the British governments is not the first of its kind. Towards the end of the fourteenth century both countries signed a pact which was, according to the custom of the period, confirmed by marriage ties between the two dynasties. Anne of Luxembourg, daughter of the Czech King, Charles IV and the sister of Václav IV, became Queen of England as the wife of King Richard II. This union and the political cooperation between the two countries also strengthened the influence which the English religious thinkers, chiefly Wyclif, had on the Czech Reformation.

RICHARD, by God's grace King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, sends greetings to all whom this document concerns.

BEING gravely concerned about our State and the bountiful fruits of royal care, we consider it particularly important to secure the protection of other princes and distinguished kings and to enter into treaties of alliance, kinship and extraordinary friendship with them. By virtue of these treaties the princes, bound together by ties of inseparable friendship, will be able to resist those who would wish to rise up against them and will be able to protect themselves by their united strength against defeat.

HAVING carefully pondered upon this within the recesses of our mind, we wished first of all to be closely joined with our most illustrious brother, VÁCLAV, by God's grace King of Rome and Bohemia, and with the favor of God's grace future

Emperor, not only by such a treaty of affection but also to arrange a relation of kinship and to enter into a firm, unique and eternal alliance.

THEREFORE, when certain of our messengers were dispatched to His Highness by us, our most illustrious brother was pleased to grant our wish and our request to dispatch into our kingdom his renowned messengers and advisers, the illustrious Přemysl, Prince of Těšín, Konrad, Governor of Krajč, and Peter of Wartemburg, the highest Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Burgrave of Prague, not only to arrange such an alliance and friendship but also happily to conclude a marriage agreement between us and her most illustrious Ladyship, Lady Anne, renowned sister of this same brother of ours.

WISHING to continue in the matters above-mentioned and having full confidence in the prudence and equity of our dear and loyal ones, Edmund, Count of Canterbury, our dearest uncle and the Knights Hugon Segrave, our Seneschal and Alfred of Vera, our Chamberlain of the Exchequer, we empower them to negotiate, to arrange and to come to an agreement with the messengers, representatives and envoys of our aforementioned brother, having full power in regard to the matters stated below.

WE do make, appoint and ordain the aforementioned Edmund, Hugon and Alfred our true and indisputable representatives, negotiators, confidants and envoys extraordinary, to arrange an alliance, a treaty and a unique brotherly friendship, temporary or eternal, which should be concluded between this brother of ours, his subjects, his kingdoms and whatever other of his dominions, as of the first part, and ourselves, our kingdoms and whatever other dominions of ours, as of the second part. They are empowered to decide the manner, the extent and the quality of assistance or support which in case of need should be tendered; and the mutual relations which might come into being between our subjects in pursuit of trade and other legiti-

mate matters, as well as the betrothal and marriage which is to be happily consummated by the grace of God between ourselves and the most illustrious Anne, abovementioned. They may determine the size and quality of the dowry which she is to receive, and how and when the above-named Lady will be sent to us by her parents and friends to be received in our royal household.

WE also grant them the power to confirm, with all the honorable and due guarantee of our name, whatever will in such manner be negotiated, arranged and agreed upon concerning the aforementioned alliance and marriage agreement. They are also to request, receive pledges of and accept a similar guarantee for us and in our name, and they are to take oath upon our soul that such arrangements, agreements and contracts will be sanctioned and confirmed by us.

WE give them power to accomplish, execute and carry out everything necessary or in any way suitable to the conduct of the above-mentioned affairs and whatever is required by the species and nature of such negotiations and what WE would do or could do if WE were present in person, even if it concerns such matters as would require whatever sort of special order.

WE give our royal word that WE shall sanction and confirm whatever will be effected, agreed upon or arranged by our aforementioned representatives, or any two of them.

GIVEN in our palace in Westminster, witnessed by our Great Seal, this 29th day of the month of March, in the Fourth year of Our Reign.

BY ORDER OF THE KING

PLEA TO A HABSBURG

This letter of Jan of Perštýn, a member of a foremost family of the Czech nobility, was written in 1539, and illustrates how the Czech nation soon began to regret that it had called the Habsburgs to the Czech throne by free election. This happened in 1526 when Ferdinand I, who was also Emperor of Germany and King of Hungary, was elected King of Bohemia. Later the Czech representatives argued that since the Czech nation had freely elected the Habsburgs, it also had the right to depose them. This argument was also advanced by T. G. Masaryk, as is evident from the quotations which follow. The writer of the letter, Jan of Perštýn, was a Moravian Provincial Governor. It is also clearly apparent from this letter how from the very beginning the Habsburgs made little effort to win over the inhabitants of Bohemia.

. . . In the first place your Majesty well knows that a kingdom, together with its king and ruler, flourishes best when it is united with him in friendship and when there is mutual respect between the subjects and their sovereign. For love alone creates all true values. Most assuredly love begets such trust and harmony that the sovereign and his subjects come to be of one mind. Without this, however, things turn out otherwise, for it is written that a kingdom divided against itself cannot last, and house upon house must fall.

But how, most gracious Sire, can your subjects in this Kingdom and in your other provinces love and trust your Majesty, when all of them feel that your Majesty neither loves nor trusts them? They feel that your Majesty neither remembers nor appreciates the fact that they freely elected your Majesty as their sovereign; that on the contrary your Majesty's lack

of affection and trust in his subjects became obvious from the moment your Majesty became our Sovereign and began your reign. For even at that time without consulting the Kingdom—indeed, in direct opposition to its wishes—your Majesty undertook the war against Hungary. This war achieved nothing, exhausted your Majesty and your subjects materially, and taxed many into poverty. Thus all these levies, together with the large amounts expended by your Majesty, were spent to no avail. Moreover, these lands were exposed to the Turkish menace. And since it is impossible for them to defend themselves against the Turks, nothing but destruction awaits them. If your Majesty had followed the advice of this Kingdom, these disasters for your Majesty and ourselves would never have come about.

Most distressing of all is the sight of the grief and suffering inflicted upon the people by your Majesty's severe restrictions in the matter of their faith and religion. Faith, most gracious Sire, is a gift from God. To whomever God has not given it, it cannot be given by man. A man who makes an avowal or confession of faith at the behest of another does not do it with all his heart; thus his profession of faith is valueless in the eyes of God, who is the observer and examiner of hearts. May your Majesty find this worthy of consideration and reflection. For that which God has given endureth everlastingly and cannot be destroyed by man. But man's works perish of themselves, if they are not built upon God. Moreover, it is said openly throughout the whole nation that your Majesty has taken the lives of many people of both sexes, and that their blood cries to God for vengeance. Therefore God may continue to heap disaster and punishment upon your Majesty.

In brief, most gracious Sire, this is what the people think of you, how they judge you, how they explain you: first, they are convinced that your Majesty cares nothing for them nor

for the Kingdom; secondly, that your Majesty does not trust them and that your Majesty does not even consider those of a different confession as Christians. Thus the people have come to feel antagonistic to your Majesty, so that they bear your Majesty no love, nor do they trust in your Majesty. . . .

TRAGEDY OF AN APPEASER

Karel of Žerotín, the Elder, is a tragic figure who lived in one of the Czech nation's most difficult periods. He was born in 1564 and died in 1636, so that he was a middle-aged man when, on November 8, 1620, the Czechs were defeated in battle on the White Mountain near Prague by the armies of the Habsburg Emperor, Ferdinand II. This battle, which was the real beginning of the Thirty Years' War, signified the defeat of the Czech Reformation and the consolidation of the rule of the Habsburgs in Bohemia for three centuries. For a long time Karel of Žerotín tried to arrange a religious reconciliation in the lands of the Habsburgs, and even opposed the Czech movement for religious and political freedom. In spite of this, he did not escape persecution after the defeat at White Mountain. On June 21, 1621, the flower of the Czech nobility was executed in Prague. Those who escaped with their lives, Žerotín among them, were exiled and all their possessions were confiscated. Žerotín, who may be called the appeaser of his time, was as unsuccessful as all those who followed a similar policy after him.

KAREL OF ŽEROTÍN TO GEORGE ERAST, BISHOP OF
THE UNITY OF THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN

. . . I am deeply grateful to you for your letter, so full of pious exhortation, admonition, counsel and consolation. Knowing that the journey which lies before me is hard and rough and full of labor, anxiety, and danger, I join you in prayer to the Lord God of David that His spirit may lead us along that path as over smooth and level ground. However, my thoughts are not merely centered upon our coming departure—if God will permit it to take place—although it is not only fraught with

hardships but also with impossibilities on all sides. Rather, I look upon the path of our present life strewn with so many temptations, suffering and misery that it is practically impossible to clear it. And in truth, if I were to write to you only of what I suffer in my mind, my heart, my soul and my body, I am certain that you would not only grieve but even weep for me. Therefore it is not without reason that I pray the Lord God to make my path a little smoother and easier, so that it may be possible to pass on without injury. This I do not doubt that He will do, though everything may not turn out as we would wish, but rather as He deems good for us. And as for this banishment of ours, it is truly a most grievous matter that we know what we are leaving behind, but not whither we are going; what we are losing, but not what we shall receive; what our past days have been, but not what those will be that are yet to come—to use the words of King Stephen of Poland on his death-bed, though he used them in another sense and by reason of his blindness. And certainly the words said in the Scripture regarding Abraham, that he went, not knowing whither he was going, are fulfilled in our case. But God Himself will lead us, for the sake of whose name and truth we take this burden upon ourselves, as we did in the past. . . .

(1628)

KAREL OF ŽEROTÍN TO ZDENĚK OF ROUPOV

. . . There is enough to write about here, but we have no time. All those who were banished are preparing to leave, without money for the most part since they cannot sell their property. There is no one who will buy, and those who lent out money at interest cannot get any of it back. There is great misery everywhere. One hears weeping, lamentations, groans and cries on all sides, so that one can hardly bear it. Unhappiest of all are the women whose daughters are to be taken from them. They are so grief-stricken it is a wonder they do not go

out of their minds. And though it is enough to move a heart of stone, yet I see no one who pities them or cares to give them counsel or help. All one hears everywhere is that this must be. May the Lord console them in their grief, and may He be with your Excellency also in these troubled times. . . .
(1628)

Main

MASTER AND SERF

Karl von Lichtenstein, who was of Austrian descent, was president of the special court which ordered the Prague Executions of June 21, 1621, mention of which has just been made. The chronicler writes of this man: "He greatly multiplied and enriched the possessions of his family by confiscations." The letter of the Plumlov peasants depicts the reverse side of this enrichment. It shows the degradation and misery the Czech inhabitants were enduring at that time.

THE BONDSMEN OF THE PLUMLOV ESTATE

Enlightened Prince, our most gracious Lord! We pray that the Almighty may grant your princely Excellency all happiness, health, and a joyful reign for many long years of true and just counsel.

May your Excellency be pleased to receive this our humble supplication in all kindness. We cannot conceal from your Excellency that on Friday last, that is, on the Day of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin, your steward ordered all of us, from every home on your estate (exclusive of the town of Prostějov) to assemble and proceed to Plumlov Castle. And there, among other things commanded by your Excellency, was read to us an order that all of us change to the holy Catholic faith, this being your firm will. Many of us, however, like our forefathers for many generations, have clung to the Protestant faith, having been brought up and instructed in this faith from our childhood. We pray you, therefore, in God's name to give your gracious consent that we may keep this religion. We poor, debt-ridden bondsmen, plundered by the soldiery for many years, all our possessions gone, can only bear our misery with groans

and lamentations, knowing not what to do. Therefore we beg your princely Excellency in God's name to give us bondsmen your gracious permission to abide by our old religion, so that your Excellency's lands may not lie fallow and neglected and we may be able to feed ourselves, our wives and our children as your Excellency's faithful servants.

In all duty and humility we commend your princely Excellency to the powerful and beneficent protection of Almighty God, and we gratefully await your princely Excellency's kind and gracious reply.

ALL THE BONDSMEN OF YOUR PRINCELY EXCELLENCY'S PLUMLOV ESTATE (EXCEPT THOSE PERTAINING TO THE TOWN OF PROSTĚJOV).
(1628)

COMENIUS, TEACHER OF NATIONS

Jan Amos Komenský, better known as Comenius, is famous throughout the world as a pedagogue. His dates are 1592-1670. Some of the best known of his innumerable writings are: The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart, The Gate of Tongues Unlocked and Opened, Pansophiae diatyposis, and Orbis Sensualium Pictus. As a leader and later as the Bishop of the Unity of Brethren (the Moravian Brethren), he was forced to emigrate in 1628, and later lived in Poland, England, Sweden and Holland. He died in Amsterdam. During 1641 and 1642 he was entrusted with the task of reforming the schools in England and Sweden. The works of Comenius are still read by the entire Czechoslovak nation. For centuries the words Comenius wrote in his testament in 1650 have been the motto of the whole nation: "I believe that after the tempest of God's wrath shall have passed, the rule of thy country will again return unto thee, O Czech nation." Comenius was the last great figure of the Czech Reformation, the defeat of which in his life-time ushered in two centuries of silence and darkness in Bohemia. This dark age lasted until the end of the eighteenth century when it was ended by the national revival and the resurrection of the Czech tongue, which at that time was also the literary language of the Slovaks.

HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

In August of the year 1624 an imperial decree was promulgated banishing from the kingdom for all time all the priests of the party of communion, on the basis of old charges that they were rebels and seducers of the people. They were given

a certain time in which to leave the country, a term which was not to be exceeded. But the authorities tricked them by keeping the decree back for a whole month after its date so that many never saw it before the day on which they were required to depart or even before their time was already up. And then they scattered in all directions, many fleeing to the frontier regions, others into various hiding-places and caves.

Many of them, however, mindful of their duty, secretly returned to visit their congregations or summoned them to their hiding-places in the mountains or forests or elsewhere in order to hearten them with words of consolation and counsel and by administering Holy Communion.

But when this came to the knowledge of their enemies a new imperial decree was issued in July of the year 1625, laying down penalties for those who secretly gave shelter to these priests and offering rewards to those who informed against them. The amount of these rewards was not publicly announced. It was at the discretion of the nobility. In some cases the punishment inflicted upon those who befriended the priests went as far as the imposition of the death penalty, while informers were tempted to betray the priests by rewards of as high as fifty pieces of silver.

COMENIUS ADMONISHES THE NOBILITY

Provide schools for your young folk and for the children of your servants, so that they may thrive like trees grafted by the Lord. This is particularly necessary in view of the present demoralization and agitation of the world, so that our people shall grow again and God's blessing bring the churches and parishes to bloom and flourish once more.

However, it will not be enough to open churches and schools and to provide teachers. You will also have to support those dependent upon you in this matter.

I pray you to rule your servants with discretion and justice.

With justice, so as to leave no opening for evil. And deal with those beneath you not according to your passions, but with understanding, treat them not as mere cattle, but as human beings like yourselves.

Be not stern masters, but be merciful, as you wish to be called. And the Lord doubtless allows you to be called so in order that what you always hear may remind you what you ought to be. Charlemagne in his *Constitutiones Imperii* also provided that lords deal kindly with their serfs as regards their services, dues and penalties. And remember that the serfs are their brothers and have the same Almighty Father, to whom they say: "Our Father, Which art in Heaven."

Since you used to rule this country too severely, O nobles, change to more kindly ways and lighten the burdens of your poor dependents thereby. Be merciful to them for the sake of God Who is merciful to you and lightens your burdens! For you have ruled over Christians as the pagans used to rule over their slaves, buying and selling human beings for money like cattle. Thus one man—perhaps but little higher in rank—in purchasing a serf, as they call him, thereby purchased complete jurisdiction over the serf's property, his children, his very life, to deal with as he chose. And thus one man could do what he chose in passion and cruelty to another man, one Christian to another Christian! Nay, this is too much of an unchristian thing.

UNUM NECESSARIUM

What is man's first and most essential need? His own self. He must learn to know, to master, to use, and to enjoy his own self.

First he must know himself and realize that he is not simply a part of creation like the sky, the earth, the sun, the trees, the beasts, but that he stands midway between creator and creature, being his creator's image, vicar, and servant, but the lord and

master of all baser creatures. Thus he is a world, a God on a small scale.

Then he must also be able to master himself. As a wise man once said: Wilt thou be king? I shall give thee a kingdom—master thyself!

Finally man must know how to use and enjoy his own self. He should not rely upon any other creature more than upon himself nor seek comfort in any other creature more than in himself. "The world lies in thee, therefore seek it not outside thyself!"

But in what way is man a world in himself? All that belongs to his being he carries within himself; no part of his being is outside of himself; he completes himself like a circle or a globe. Therefore he finds himself best in himself, not anywhere else. Thus he will easily find God and the world in himself. As one finds and recognizes each object in its image, thus he will find God in himself. As one recognizes a thing by its mark, thus he will recognize the world in himself, for every creature bears the mark of its creator.

But a man who can master himself will also be able to master another man similar by nature and requiring guidance. And if he can rule one man he can rule many, for they were all created in one image. Then he will also know how to enjoy all the other good things which are meant for him.

Thus to know, master, own, use, and enjoy one's own self is man's foremost necessity.

OF PEACE AND LIBERTY

What is the one essential to the preservation of peace? It is harmony, that cement of minds which keeps together all the forces of society. For if opinions, inclinations, aims and efforts within society are too divergent, there is an end of security. Great kingdoms divided against themselves fall, says Christ;

so will a building when its roof, walls, pillars and foundations part company.

And what is essential for preserving harmony? A proper order of men and actions. Some must be superior and others must be subordinate, and each man must know what place and time is proper for any particular act. And all must be free within bounds to follow sensible considerations without resorting to cunning and dissembling. For the human character is such that men wish to be governed in a human fashion, to be led rather than driven, to be persuaded rather than compelled. For man was created in the image of God, as a reasoning, free and independent being. The art of government is thus based upon wisdom and not upon force, upon caution and foresight, not upon trickery. In short, for perfect harmony, good government, equality and obedience are essential. For, as the common heritage of humanity and the universal mark of the divine image within us, individual freedom is the fountainhead of universal liberty.

HAVLÍČEK, THE PEN AND THE SWORD

Karel Havlíček Borovský is considered the father of Czech journalism. Born in 1821, he died at the early age of thirty-five. He spent some years in Russia, where he lost all the Pan-Slavic enthusiasm he had once had. Later, his critical, realistic position on Russia and on the whole Slavic question had considerable influence on the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. After a brief period during which he worked for the official Czech press (that is, the press which was subject to Austrian control), he set up, in 1848, an opposition newspaper. This paper, Národní Noviny, which bitterly fought the Austrian Government, represented the beginning of modern Czech journalism. That same momentous year he was elected to the Vienna Parliament, but resigned after a few months, feeling that he could serve his nation better as a journalist. In 1849 he added a satiric supplement to his newspaper, called Šotek (The Wag). It is from this supplement that the following satiric essay on the geography of Bohemia is taken. When a state of siege was declared in Prague—which meant, of course, a tightening of the censorship—he moved to Kutná Hora. Here, in May, 1849, he began the publication of Slovan (The Slav). He voluntarily stopped publishing this paper in August, 1851, when it became clear that the censorship was making any sort of free press impossible. He was nevertheless arrested in December, 1851, and taken to Brixen in Tyrol. Here he was imprisoned, and through maltreatment and forced inactivity his health was broken. It was in Brixen that he wrote the Tyrolean Elegies, a cycle of poems which has become one of the great classics of Czechoslovak poetry. He was not released until May, 1855, after he had given

his written promise not to engage in any further literary activity. In spite of this, he was again arrested when he returned to Bohemia, and imprisoned in Německý Brod. He died in July, 1856, from tuberculosis contracted while in Brixen. His burial was made the occasion of a great national demonstration. Havlíček's prose and verse, especially his political epigrams, are to this day tremendously popular throughout Czechoslovakia, and many of his phrases have become proverbial.

For some time he was a supporter of so-called Austro-Slavism. This movement called for the Slavic nations within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to unite and break the control of the Germans and the Hungarians. Palacký, too, at one time took this stand. But though Havlíček was thus serving the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, for its eventual downfall was the direct result of the hegemony of the Germans and the Hungarians, the Monarchy nevertheless persecuted him with a harshness that ultimately resulted in his death.

A SURVEY OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF BOHEMIA—AS SOME GERMAN PERIODICALS WOULD HAVE IT

(Published in the satirical review, Šotek)

Bohemia, which without any justification calls itself the land of the Czechs, is essentially a wedge driven into the body of Germany.

Its frontiers are:

On the *West*: Bavaria, Reuz-Greiz, and Greater Germany.

On the *South*: Upper Austria and Greater Germany.

On the *North*: Saxony, Lusatia, Prussia, and Greater Germany.

On the *East*: Silesia, Moravia, a corner of Germany, and a corner of Panslavia.

The country of the eastern border is most dangerous because it is a hotbed of Pan-Slavism.

By geographical location, economic situation, culture, the needs of the times, and finally, by historic ties, the Czech lands belong to the German nation. The Czechs, as well as the Croats and the Serbs, cannot escape this destiny. Should any

Slavic Czech dare to claim that historically this is not his destiny, we must point out that in free nations such historic rubbish cannot be taken seriously.

Let us consider the mountains of Bohemia.

On the *West*: The Bohemian Forest.

On the *North*: The Rudohoří and the Krkonoše.

On the *East*: The Moravian-Bohemian Mountains.

There are no mountains on the South.

In mid-Bohemia there is the White Mountain.

The most important of these mountains all lie in German territory, so that the Czech districts cannot even lay claim to a whole mountain, and the White Mountain is certainly nothing to boast of. But to escape ridicule for their lack of high mountains, the Czechs have cunningly concocted songs about such mountains. For instance: "Mountain, mountain, high art thou!" (*Horo, horo, vysoká jsi!*), or "The Castle in the Mountains" (*Ten vorlický zámek mezi horama*).

The Rivers of Bohemia are: the Vltava (Moldau), the Labe (Elbe), the Jizera (Iser), Ohárka Otava, Sázava, Orlice, etc.

The most important of these rivers, indeed, almost all of them, take their source somewhere in Germany. Out of charity they pause for a while to confer their blessings upon Czech territory, after which humanitarian excursion they depart for their true homeland, Germany. Here alone it is possible for them to reach maturity.

In their arrogance, the Czechs sing, "Hail, our Labe!" (*Hoj ty naše Labe!*) and "Gentle Vltava" (*Vltavěnko milá*), but such impertinence will avail them naught. The Labe, disdaining their blandishments, and joining with the Vltava, swiftly makes its way out of Bohemia. A few creeks arise in Czech territory, but they are barely more than trickles, incapable of growing great and strong. And so, after a brief span of life, they throw themselves into the bosom of the Labe,

with whom they rush beyond the borders to Germany and glory.

Products: Flax from Krkonoše and horseradish from Malín.

Wine from Mělník and Žernoseky, and carp from Rožmberk and Kopidlno. Vegetables from Hradec and grain from the Labe valley; horses from Chrudim and hops from Žatec; garnets from Světlá; pheasants from all regions; plums from Dolany, and linen from Krkonoše; apples from Míšeň and silver from Příbramy; metals from Kutná Hora, and all sorts of beer, etc.

We must admit that the German districts are not more fruitful than Bohemia as regards these products, but this is scarcely worth mentioning.

Inhabitants: According to the latest and more accurate statistics, there may be more Czechs than Germans. But we must realize that everybody who has ever had any contact with the German tongue is obviously a German, and that almost all Czechs have been educated by Germans. It is therefore only fair to state that at least half the population of Bohemia is German.

The Czechs are members of the Slavic race—a race which is semi-barbarous and therefore unfit for real freedom. These Czechs are fanatic nationalists, and rave and rant about their idiotic equal rights, saying they have them only on paper. Their language is very hard to learn, especially for those who do not wish to learn it. They have an absurdly fervent love for this ungainly language, and rush to its defense whenever it is attacked. Compare this to the sensible attitude of the German living in Bohemia, who loves freedom more than such fancies as language and nationality. What does your Slavic language matter, he asks? And he offers to all Czechs the reasonable solution that they secure their freedom by embracing his nationality.

The Czechs have recently added another to the long list of

faults of which they are guilty. This latter fault—which we call *Uebergriff* (encroachment)—is so subtle that there is not even a word for it in the crude Czech language. It can be explained only by an example. For instance, if the Czechs should demand that all officials in Bohemia speak both German and Czech, or if the mayor of Prague dared to say that Prague is the capital of the Czech nation, they should be committing *Uebergriffe*. (1849)

BROKEN PROMISES

Really, we shall soon have to emigrate from our ancient homeland and beg the mighty Czar of Russia for a piece of land somewhere in the Caucasus . . .

“When will our native language finally be used in our own schools?” we ask, catching at the straw of imperial promises of equal rights for all nations. “Remember our need for unity, brothers,” is the answer. “Don’t sow discord with such petty questions.” We are satisfied, ashamed, and silenced. “But devil take it, when will our officials learn to write a few honest lines in Czech?” we murmur. “Unity, friends, unity! Why must you agitators keep harping on the alphabet in these great times?” Again we are shamed into a frightened silence. But after another year of unabated imperial equality of nations we dare again to raise our voices: “But when in blazes will the ‘Pražské Noviny’ at least be the equal of the German newspapers? Or must we forever have this nonsense of handing proclamations in German, printed at Czech cost, to poor Czechs who do not understand a word of German?” But the answer is always the same . . .

No wonder that by degrees melancholia takes possession of our rebellious souls. This unequal struggle has been waged by our wretched people for hundreds of years. How persistently we have to fight for each trifle; how costly each span of ground we gain! Our important demands are denied on the

grounds that everything cannot be accomplished at once. Our minor demands are brushed off as being unworthy of consideration. And so we are left with nothing. (1849)

THE SLAV POLICY

Long ago the question was asked and answered: should we become Germans or remain what God has created us, namely Slavs and Czechs? It is not a new question. Even at the time of Emperor Joseph, before the coming of Napoleon, they were already digging the grave for the Czech nation of ancient glory. The false heir was standing impatiently beside the death-bed, awaiting the end. But then came the Napoleonic wars; all Europe was stirred; and the spirit of our people was once more aroused. The rulers took up arms against the great emperor of the French who would have subjugated them all; and in their plight they were forced to appeal to the spirit of their people. In obedience to this policy, the newspapers of the time invoked the name of liberty and independence, and emancipation from the foreign yoke. In Bohemia, for instance, the Austrian censorship permitted and abetted the publication of books celebrating the great hero, Žižka—a rather curious development, since previously the official interpretation had held that Žižka was a brigand. Indeed, the Czech people had almost been prevailed upon to believe that this noble defender of their liberty had been no more than a common murderer and public enemy. The name of Huss was also restored to honor. In fact, all the glorious and honorable traditions of the Czechs were recalled from the oblivion to which they had been carefully consigned by the Austrian government and the Jesuits.

Such were the desperate means adopted by the absolutist rulers of Europe, when they were in danger of falling before the absolute rule of Napoleon. And by such means they did save their skins. But quite naturally, the ideas they had resur-

rected did not obligingly die again after the fall of Napoleon. They persisted and took root and bore fruit which was very distasteful to those who had originally planted the seed. At that time the subject nations began really to entertain thoughts of liberation from absolute rule. In our times the European nations are continuing this struggle for freedom.

In those days the Czechs lived in twofold servitude: nationally, we were subjects of the Germans; politically, we were subjects of an absolute emperor. Thus our task was doubly difficult. Nationally, we had to maintain our autonomy despite the imposition of the German language; politically, we had to work to replace the absolute emperor by a constitutional government. Today we have achieved both—on paper. We have a constitutional government, for the text of the constitution has been published, and the state parliaments are about to be convoked. We have been promised equal national status. On the official seals, in the law books, our language proudly takes its place next to the German. Our language has already become a sister, where formerly it was a servant. But we are still under an absolute government. The German language is still predominant, even in purely Czech territories. It is therefore our task to secure the real victory both of constitutional government and national equality. We must not allow our national and political enemies to confuse us; one group of them (the aristocrats and the absolutists) promise us national status at the price of liberty; the other (the Germans) promise us liberty at the price of national status. But we, as Slavs and democrats, can forsake neither the one nor the other; we do not want nationality without freedom, nor liberty without nationality, since the two cannot really be separated.

. . . Our patriots, who as spiritual leaders of the nation were to direct our struggle for national and political liberty—for our independence—very fortunately conceived the characteristically Slavic ideal of Pan-Slavism. They had found our

nation afflicted almost to death; we were weakened and lanced by the blows of clerical and secular despotism. As a nation, our life was almost gone.

The issue was, therefore, to arouse a languid nation defiled by a foreign spirit, glorying in slavery, even boasting of its disgrace; to rouse the wretched, senile Czech who sidled around anterooms, whom Austria used as a doormat, who would have renounced God and his own ancestors for the privilege of being an unpaid apprentice in some state office. This miserable generation had to be told the story of their great ancestors, who had feared neither the tyrannical, worldly popes nor the land-hungry emperor. Our weakness was manifest. Our one hope was to find an ally. We did not need help so much in the political realm—for there all people strive equally for freedom—but rather in the national realm, for here lay our greatest weakness. Our patriots therefore gave fresh inspiration to the Slavic idea, the idea of common origin and brotherhood of all Slav peoples. Bohemia, to be sure, had never forgotten this idea, but it had never prevailed there so strongly as in our times. Since this reawakening, Slavism has remained the heart of Czech politics, and will remain so for all time because it expresses the practical truth that nations which have common bonds between them can effectively help each other. How true and workable is the ideal of Pan-Slavism has been proved lately in the case of the Croats. They would never have made their gains, but for their staunch loyalty to Pan-Slavism. . . .

A novel idea of such vast scope is a great instrument for good, but it unavoidably suffers distortion and exaggeration. An example of such distortion is the common doctrine of Slavic uniformity, which is proposed in the name of unity. This doctrine proposes to bind all Slav tribes into a single nation, so that every Slav would have the same government, same lan-

guage, same literature, same religion, and the same constitution.

Our conception of Pan-Slavism, of Slavic unity and friendship, is quite different. We believe our conception to be the only natural and practical view. Slavic brotherhood entails no uniformity in religion, government or literature. It means one thing: that we shall, as far as circumstances permit, defend each other against common enemies.

. . . But our crucial problem lies in the present situation of the Slavs in Austria. If Austria would comprehend what was her best course, she might become the sanctuary and the beloved fatherland of three great nations of Slavs. These are the Czechs and the Yugoslavs, and in addition either the Poles or the Ruthenians. We had thought that Austria would profit by 1848, and follow liberal policies, especially as the government had finally been convinced that Italy and Germany prefer not to be tied to Austria. But Austria insists on adhering to the policy best defined by the sentence: *Ex omnibus aliquid, ex toto nihil!*—which we may very freely translate, I am neither hot nor cold; I want to get along somehow with everybody, and I shall get along with nobody. Thus our government tries to ride in all directions at once—so that it may pursue either German or Slav interests. It dangles before the Germans the prospect of future German colonization of all Austria, while at the same time making them shy away with talk of equal national rights for Slavs and pro-Slavic legislation. The Slavs are again fed with hopes and legislative measures; they are promised peaceful development of their nationality. At the same time, however, they are alarmed to see the general preference shown to the Germans, manifested by bills which order all officials to master the German language, and by the designation of German as the only official language.

We had expected our government at least to follow a sincere course in the case of the Yugoslavs; we expected our govern-

ment to win over the sympathies of the Yugoslavs of Turkey, and thereby to pave the way for Austria's future possession of the Turkish territories in Europe. We thought Austria would, in consistency with a liberal Slav policy, become the declared enemy of the despotic Russian government. For Austria had and still has ample power to keep the Russian Czar in check. Instead, she has conducted her affairs in such a way as to become actually an abettor of the Czar's tyranny.

A Slav policy in Austria does not require that the government try to make Slavs out of non-Slavs. A Slav policy requires that the government further the efforts of Slavs everywhere to consolidate and develop their national identity, that it help and not hamper them in their national and spiritual growth. The government would find that the power of its Slavic subjects was the source of its own strength and permanence. This, of course, would be true on the condition that Austrian rule continued to be just to the Slavs—a matter which is again dependent only on the Austrian government.

What is essentially required from Slav policy in Austria is that no unrest, envy, distrust and suspicion be fostered either through carelessness or cunning. For instance, the government must beware of placing Czech officials in superior capacities over other Slavs when those Czechs have been rejected at home because they were incapable; for that would kindle hatred against the Czechs. One thing must be understood: there is no longer place for the old Austrian practice of "*Divide et impera*." Quite another policy is required; and in the unity and brotherly affection among the Slav groups lies the surest power of the Austrian monarchy. Moreover, an effort must be made to create a closer understanding between the hitherto distant Slav groups in Austria, namely, the Czechoslavs and the Yugoslavs.

The Czechoslav countries, Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia and Slovakia, have for a long time been one single nation in

their literary and spiritual life. Historically, they long existed as a single state. The patriots of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia have always striven for complete unification of these countries which are so closely linked by ties of blood and culture. (1850)

EQUAL RIGHTS

Our equal rights have so shamelessly been made mockery of that one might think the principle itself was first laid down in order to disgrace us. Does the general attitude of the authorities really recognize the equal rights of the Czechs? On the contrary. The Czech is railed at as by nature dissatisfied and rebellious; whenever he pleads that his nationality be safeguarded, he is scorned as indecent. Whenever he tries to win some sort of equality with the Germans, he is told that he does not know his place. Even when the country is faced with a military emergency, the German newspapers are permitted to heap shame and abuse upon us; but if any of us dares raise his voice against this, the military courts immediately condemn him. . . . Look about you in Prague and try to find some sign that we have been granted equal national rights. Is there any difference between pre-March days and the present? Whoever displayed a Czech shingle last year, has hidden it this year. He finds that he needs a German sign, or his business will suffer. Shopkeepers still answer in German when you ask a question in Czech. And our enemies sneer at us and revile us more often and more impudently than ever. It is as though the Germans were revenging themselves because for a short time last year we asserted our national will.

Let us have confidence in the final victory of truth. All those who in their political blindness have sought foreign support, and disregarded the natural aid of their fellow-nationals, shall be put to shame. We shall win! We cannot forget the events of last year. After the February revolution in France, the dawn

of nationalism and liberalism seemed to have broken at last in Europe. Even in Austria demands for suitable reforms were voiced, and though the *Wiener Zeitung* (official organ of the government) published an article declaring that the government would never give way, it was only a few days later that the constitution was proclaimed, and Metternich fled to England.

(1850)

LIFE WITHOUT DIGNITY

The following episode from the life of Josef Jungmann, one of the leaders of Czechoslovak national enlightenment, is given here as an example of the policy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and as an illustration of the bitterness of both sides. Perhaps this episode makes it clear why "small" nations struggle for liberty despite the advantages of incorporation into "larger units." Josef Jungmann lived between 1773 and 1847, and was particularly active in reviving the Czech tongue. His work consists of several dictionaries, one of which was written with the collaboration of the Slovak, George Palkovič. Jungmann also translated many classical works of world literature into Czech; for example, Milton's Paradise Lost, Chateaubriand's Atala, etc. His life-work was devoted to The History of Czech Literature and The Czech-German Dictionary. He introduced many new expressions into Czech, which took root in the popular speech as well as the literary language. He took no part in political life and conducted himself more or less cautiously, as the quotation from his notes illustrates.

JOSEF JUNGMAUN—NOTES FROM HIS DIARY

I had been transferred from Litoměřice to Prague as a professor of rhetoric. Since the government suspected all Czechs I, as a well-known Czech patriot, was involved in a secret police investigation. This experience taught me more in a short while than a lifetime of formal education.

Three inquisitors attempted to learn the innermost feelings of my heart and my secret opinions. But in the first place there were no dangerous tendencies in me worth discovering. And

in the second place they all acted so stupidly that I had no difficulty in frustrating their intentions.

The most insidious and most dangerous was Jan Zimmermann, knight of the cross, fellow-monk of my brother Jan, scriptor in the imperial library and censor of books. He visited me almost daily, never addressing me otherwise than "little brother." He accompanied me in my walks and diligently took note of what I read, wrote and said. He gave me opportunities to confide my innermost thoughts to him and he himself expressed ideas which he would have liked to hear from my lips. If I seemed to agree he eagerly sought to turn the conversation to Czech history, the condition of Bohemia and its subject nationalities, the House of Habsburg, the Emperor and other such pitfalls. It was a duel in which I happily warded off his thrusts with the shield of my great presence of mind and my innocence. When he finally bade me farewell, tired out at last and despairing of me, he took my hand in an affectionate manner and said:

"Dear brother, how much longer will Austria rule over us? Whereupon I answered with a similar assumed kindness and friendliness:

"Dear brother! Let us pray daily that it may be forever."

My second investigator was Count Dejm. On the whole he did not attempt to conceal his affiliations. He even told me that he is privileged to enter the chamber of his Imperial Highness whenever he wishes without being announced. Several times, like an evil comet brushing by, he almost laid me low.

"Is it true, professor, that a good Czech cannot be a good Austrian?" he asked.

"I am both, Count," I answered.

"That cannot be," he said, and left without further questioning. I was surprised that this appeared to dispose of the matter and yet it did.

But Konrad, chief commissioner of police, was much worse.

He immediately struck at the root of the matter. In an attempt to gain my confidence he brought me the book "Animali Parlanti" which had been banned, complaining the while of the administration, the court, the Emperor, etc. I played innocent as if I did not know what he was aiming at, and politely disagreed. Not knowing just where he stood he sent his wife who abused the Emperor in unusually impertinent terms. Having had my fill of this comedy I rose up against her:

"Madam, let God keep our Emperor for long years to come. He is certainly a better man than all of us put together."

She muttered something to gainsay this but our conversation was ended. And so was the investigation which, I have no doubt, ended in my favor.

FRANTIŠEK PALACKÝ

FATHER

OF THE NATION

František Palacký, father of modern Czech historiography, was born in 1798 and died in 1876. Although his chief concern was history, he was extremely versatile and active in many other fields. He was a man with talents for statesmanship, but these qualities had little chance to develop at a time when Bohemia was a mere province of the Habsburg Monarchy. Palacký was the foremost figure of a generation of great patriots. During his lifetime he was the political leader of the Czechoslovak nation. During a prolonged sojourn in Slovakia in his youth, he came to love the country, and throughout his life he was in constant close touch with the political and cultural representatives of Slovakia. After 1848, when as a representative of the Czech nation he was invited to the Preparatory Committee for the Pan-German Parliament in Frankfurt, he took a more active part in political affairs. Recognizing the Pan-German character of the movement, he refused to participate. The letter giving his reasons for refusing is reproduced here. In this letter he also declared that if the Austrian Monarchy did not exist, it would be necessary to create it. At that time he was still associated with Austro-Slavism, like Havlíček, who was under his influence. By 1865, however, he had given up the idea and in his book, The Idea of the Austrian State, he wrote: "We were here before there was ever an Austria and we shall be after she has passed"—words which have become a national slogan. This fundamental change in Palacký's views was caused by the stubborn refusal of the Emperor and the Viennese Government to heed Czech and Slovak proposals to federalize the Austrian Monarchy. Federalization would have guaranteed equality

to the various nations of the Empire. But the Emperor and the Viennese Government preferred to consolidate the principle of dualism, by which the Monarchy was divided into the "Crown Lands of Hungary," where the Magyars ruled, and the "Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Council," where the Germans were supreme. This arrangement, which assured the supremacy of the Germans and Magyars over the other nations, was the cause of the Empire's decline, as Palacký had prophesied. Vienna tried to buy off Palacký by bestowing various honors upon him (in 1861 he was appointed a life member of the House of Lords in Vienna), but the father of the nation, as Palacký was called even during his lifetime, would not surrender his convictions. Palacký's major work is his History of the Czech Nation, which deals with the period up to 1526 when the Habsburgs first ascended to the Czech throne.

LETTER TO FRANKFURT

*To the Committee of Fifty
President Soiron
Frankfurt am Main*

I have just received your letter of April 6th, in which you, good sirs, do me the honor of inviting me to Frankfurt. You state that your business concerns "mainly the speediest assembling of a German Parliament." I was both surprised and pleased to discover that the most notable men of Germany still have the utmost confidence in my convictions. For by summoning me to the meeting of the "Friends of the German Fatherland" you exonerate me from the unjust charge that has been repeatedly leveled against me, namely, that I have been hostile toward the German people. It is with a feeling of deep gratitude that I recognize therein the sincere humaneness and love of justice of this excellent assemblage. I therefore consider myself all the more called upon to reply candidly and unreservedly to your invitation.

I am, gentlemen, unable to obey your summons. I can neither come in person nor delegate some other "reliable patriot" in my place. Permit me to explain briefly why this is so.

The announced purpose of your meeting is to bring about the establishment of a federation of the German people in place of the present Federation of Princes. You wish to achieve true unity in the German nation, to strengthen German nationalism, in order that Germany may grow stronger both internally and externally. I respect such an enterprise and its underlying motives; but just because I respect it, I cannot take part in it. I am not a German. And certainly you do not intend that I should merely sit by and nod my head in affirmation, without contributing either to the discussion or to the decisions. Were I to attend, I should either have to conceal my true feelings, or I should have to protest loudly. I am by nature too candid to dissemble, and not arrogant and inconsiderate enough to make an outcry. I do not wish to bring discord into a harmony which I should find desirable and gratifying in my own house, and therefore am glad to see in my neighbor's.

I am a Czech, of Slav stock, and I have placed all my poor knowledge and possessions at the disposal of the Czech nation, now and forever. My nation is small, but it has always been a separate entity. Though its rulers have for centuries belonged to the German Federation of Princes, the people themselves have never identified themselves with the Germans, nor, during the course of all those centuries, have outsiders ever considered them identical with the Germans. Bohemia's connection with the Holy Roman Empire has always been purely a connection through the royal family. The German people and the German nobles were hardly ever aware of it. This is generally known, but should it ever be called into question, I have ample evidence to prove it conclusively. Even if we should con-

cede that the Bohemian Crown has always been a vassal of Germany (which Czech writers emphatically contradict), there is no doubt that Bohemia formerly enjoyed internal sovereignty and autonomy. The German emperors never had anything to do with the Czech people; they exercised neither legislative, judicial, nor executive power in Bohemia; they did not levy troops, nor did they have other imperial rights there. Bohemia and its Crown provinces were never included within any of the former ten German districts; the jurisdiction of the *Reichskammergericht* never extended to Bohemia, etc. Therefore, the whole relationship of Bohemia to Germany cannot be viewed as anything but a relationship between rulers, not a bond between nations. Hence, any attempt to unite the people of Bohemia and the German people, insofar as they are not united by the existing Federation of Princes, is something utterly new and without any historic foundation. For my part, I could not engage in such an enterprise without an express mandate from my nation.

Let us consider the second reason why I cannot participate in your councils. It is public knowledge that one of your objectives is the complete destruction of Austria as an independent empire. Yet the preservation of the integrity of this state and the strengthening of her prestige and power is a matter of the highest importance both to my people and to all Europe—indeed, to humanity and civilization. I ask your indulgence that I may explain this point. You know which power occupies the entire eastern part of our continent. You know that that power—already grown to colossal dimensions—waxes mightier with each century. Indeed, it has more space in which to expand than is the case among the Western States. You know that that power, which is almost invulnerable to attack, has long adopted a threatening pose in foreign affairs. It has been openly aggressive in the North, but the natural forces of its growth also impel it to expand toward the South. The progress

of this expansion threatens to bring about a new universal monarchy, which is to say, an endless and nameless evil, a calamity without measure. Though I am a Slav in body and soul, in the interests of humanity I cannot consider this prospect without profound dismay. Nor would it mitigate my dismay if this monarchy were to proclaim itself principally Slavic. As the Germans unjustly call me a hater of Germans, so many Russians call me a hater of Russians. It is not so. I must cry abroad my denial of this charge. I am no hater of Russians; on the contrary, I have always followed the progress of Russia and rejoiced when that nation made rapid strides along the road of civilization—while remaining within its own natural boundaries. But as I always place the interests of humanity and science above those of nationality, I am resolutely and fiercely opposed to the mere possibility of a Russian universal monarchy—not because it would be Russian, but because it would be a universal monarchy.

You know that southeastern Europe, along the frontiers of the Russian Empire, is inhabited by several peoples differing considerably in origin, language, history and customs. There are Slavs, Wallachians (Rumanians), Magyars and Germans, as well as Greeks and Turks. None of these peoples is powerful enough ever to oppose successfully their mighty Eastern neighbor unless they are united by a strong and lasting bond. Thus these peoples form a logical and necessary society of nations. The natural lifeline of this society is the Danube; the source of its power, therefore, must never be far removed from the great river. Indeed, if the Austrian Empire did not already exist, the interests of Europe and of humanity would demand its creation.

Yet how is it that this state, destined by nature and history to protect Europe from any and all Asiatic elements, proved so weak at the critical moment? How was it taken so completely by surprise? This came about only because of its fatal blind-

ness. For many years it misunderstood or refused to understand the only possible moral basis for its existence: the principle of equal rights and privileges for all the nationalities and creeds united under its rule. The law of nations is a law of nature; no nation on earth is entitled to demand suicide from its neighbor for its own aggrandizement; no nation is obliged to sacrifice itself for the sake of its neighbor. In nature there are no master nations or slave nations. If the political unity of several peoples is to be firm and lasting, each must have confidence that its own sacred aspirations will not be strangled, nor its own territories trampled upon. Each people must feel that the central power will guard it against possible transgressions on the part of neighbors. If this feeling exists, the people will not be loath to furnish this central power with the might necessary to make such protection effective.

I am convinced that it is not yet too late for Austria to proclaim to the world this principle of justice—the *sacra ancora* at a time of impending shipwreck—and not only to proclaim it, but everywhere to put it into practice. But every moment is precious; there must be no hesitation! Metternich fell not only because he was the worst foe of freedom, but also because he was the irreconcilable enemy of the Slavs of Austria.

When I look beyond the boundaries of Bohemia, there are reasons both natural and historical that direct my eyes not toward Frankfurt but toward Vienna. There is the seat of the power which is destined to secure my nation's peace, liberty and rights. You, gentlemen, as I have already said, openly seek to weaken or destroy utterly this power, whose might must be the guardian of more than Bohemia. Or do you believe the Austrian Monarchy could maintain itself if you stripped it of its own army and made it dependent on the head of the federation at Frankfurt? Do you believe that the Emperor of Austria would still be a sovereign if all laws of any importance were passed by your assembly? And suppose Hungary

should secede from the Empire, as it fervently desires? Will that same Hungary which tramples on equal national rights, in the long run be able to remain free and strong? Only the just are truly free and strong.

There is also no sense considering that the Danubian Slavs and the Wallachians, or even the Poles, might voluntarily wish to unite with a state which sets up the fundamental principle that one must be first a Magyar and then a man. And the talk of compulsory union is just so much nonsense.

If there are those in Vienna who want Frankfurt as their capital, we can but cry out: Lord, forgive them! they know not what they want!

Finally, I must decline to come to your meeting for a third reason: I consider all plans for the reorganization of Germany visionary and impracticable in the long run unless you decide upon a Caesarian operation. By which I mean the proclamation of a German republic—if only as a transitory measure. All the old recipes for dividing power between semi-sovereign princes and the sovereign people remind me of the theories of the Fourierists. These also suppose that the human beings concerned will act like the numbers in a problem in arithmetic and never overstep the bounds assigned to them by theory. Possibly I am wrong—to be honest, I myself wish it were so—but my conviction is there; it is a compass which I cling to, for if I lose it I should be without a guide in the storms of the day. However, I am really not competent to express a considered opinion on the question of establishing a republic in Germany.

Finally, I must briefly express my conviction that the suggestion that Austria—and with it Bohemia, too—join Germany, is an admonition to commit national suicide. It has no moral or political sense. On the other hand, the suggestion that Germany join Austria, that is, join the Austrian Monarchy under the aforementioned conditions, is far more reasonable.

But even if German national feeling cannot accept this, there is no reason why both countries should not live in harmony and neighborliness; and they might do worse than substitute for their present alliance a pact of mutual protection and assistance. At any rate, they could conclude a customs agreement, for such an agreement would doubtless work to the material benefit of both parties. I shall always be willing and happy to cooperate in bringing about any measures which do not imperil Austria's independence, integrity and power.

Accept, gentlemen, the expression of my sincere admiration and devotion. (1848)

EPILOGUE TO "MEMORIALS"

It was the great revolution of 1848 which, originating in France, had its reverberations in the rise of a new, praiseworthy spirit in Austria and Bohemia—the spirit of humane liberalism, which from the first had been explicit in early Christianity. It had to endure many vicissitudes; it waged a grim battle—not unaided by philosophy—against medieval barbarism which, together with the lust for domination and possession, had tried to put down this insurgent spirit.

France, however, had no problem of nationality to be solved. What was at stake there were political and civil liberties. And in this realm, liberalism was victorious. But in those empires composed of various peoples, the question of national liberty was paramount. The overbearing pride of certain nations, their heritage of medieval prejudice, was not dispelled by the current of enlightenment spreading from France. Ruthless selfishness held its own, and provoked by some setbacks in political and social spheres, it grew even more savage towards the young national movements.

It is true that we rejoiced greatly over the first tokens of political liberty and civil rights. Won when they were least expected, they seemed to us in our enthusiasm to signify

national liberty. The leading intellectuals, German as well as Czech, acclaimed our victory. Even the government gave its blessing to our efforts for harmonious union. I, too, who had played an active role in those events, was convinced that this long-hoped-for peace would endure. I looked forward to a new era of happiness for the peoples of Austria. It seemed that even Vienna officialdom was reconciled to the idea that it had pledged itself to the new order, to the noble struggle for enlightenment and prosperity. It was in this belief that I wrote (in my letter to Frankfurt) on April 11, 1848, that if Austria did not exist, it would have been necessary in the interests of humanity to create it. For what greater good could be bestowed upon humanity than the restoration of man's inalienable rights?

Later, when the Vienna journals took the lead in opposing and making mock of this doctrine, I refused for a long time to be disillusioned. For most of the state authorities seemed to be friends of this idea, and occasionally put it into practice. It was, I must confess, a great political error on my part; the worst, to my knowledge, that I ever committed. I had relied upon certain factors which afterwards proved to be deceiving; I had believed in the sincerity of the Austrian ministers, who were all honorable men and who professed allegiance to the doctrine of equal rights among nations. Prompted both by the exigencies of the immediate situation and by their apparently sincere conviction, I reposed confidence in the humanity and love of justice of the Germans. Very well. Who will cast the first stone against me? Must I live in perpetual shame because of this?

In 1849, when the reactionary character of the upper circles became brazenly evident (during the Bach administration especially), I learned to my deep sorrow how fond had been my hopes for the permanent establishment of "equal rights for all" in Austria. After vainglorious liberal phrases had

finally served their purpose, the different parties and nations were suddenly given new names in the cast of characters. The Slavs, who had formerly been cast in the villainous role of reactionaries, were now all unbeknownst to them rechristened, and appeared as very dangerous revolutionaries. Now Vienna would have it that they were plotting for nothing less than the total overthrow of the state. Let no one think I am exaggerating. The newspapers of the time will vouch for my facts.

Alas, my reputation as a "dangerous revolutionary" cost me a great deal in my private life. But I wish to spare the reader such chronicles. In the days that followed I learnt that it is the lot of the Czechs to be made to represent the counterpart of what Vienna chooses to be. So, when the Viennese are liberal, then we are *ipso facto* reactionary; but when they are taking the role of reactionaries, we are called ultra-revolutionary. This logic of opposites is all they require—and indeed they give no other facts, but deduce everything from this logic.

It is an unfortunate fact that the Germans in Austria, German Bohemians in particular, appear in liberal guise only when they have procured "a police permit." They consider themselves a minority in the state, and live in mortal fear of us, whom they consider as tyrannical as themselves. Consequently, they curry favor with any German government, be its seat in Vienna, Frankfurt or Berlin. They simply cannot bring themselves to imagine any relation between Germans and Slavs except that of master and slave; they feel that they must subjugate the Slavs, lest they themselves become subjugated. Their modest euphemism about German "leadership" can deceive.

Thus, in time, our privilege of enjoying freedom was not only impaired, but finally completely destroyed. For it is said that since it is not part of Slav destiny to become the master of

Austria, the Slavs must continue in everlasting slavery. The principle of equal rights for all is made a laughing-stock.

But, gentlemen of the opposition, do not imagine that our indignation will inflame us into taking up arms. You need not fear this—for you have cause for greater fear concerning the state of the nation. You yourselves have long since pursued the way that leads to its downfall, and you follow on the same road with terrifying persistency. You have undermined its moral foundations and allowed rank corruption to penetrate into every class. The inner rot flourishes and works its own decay. See for yourselves what has befallen the country under your leadership. Only twenty-five years ago Austria was universally acknowledged to hold the hegemony over Europe. Nowadays the name of Austria is no longer in the roll of great powers, now that it has had to place itself under the “friendly” protection of Prussia. You were the ones that urged this course, and now Austria is dependent on the good will of Prussia for its very existence.

(1864)

THE IDEA OF THE AUSTRIAN STATE

In defiance of the principles of modern statecraft, Austria—a land unique for the diverse elements within it—denies equal justice to all its citizens; nay, it confers on some ascendancy and power over others; it reduces the Slavs to the position of tools and servants of two other nations. Beware lest Nature, too, will cry out her protest and assert her power by transforming domestic tranquillity into discord, and hope into despair. She will stir bad blood, battles whose end and whose mischief no one can foresee. No sooner will this undemocratic form of justice be proclaimed, than you will see the rise of Pan-Slavism in its most dire shape. You will have brought it on your own heads. What will happen the reader must conceive for himself. We Slavs shall look on with sincere sorrow,

but with no fear. We were here before there ever was an Austria, and we shall be after she has passed.

My chief mistake—I admit it frankly—was my confidence in the honor and integrity of Germany. When I declared that if Austria did not exist it would be necessary to create her, I expected, I had absolute trust that justice would prevail in that league of free nations.

I did not take warning from the lucid remark of St. Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei*, “*remota justitia, quid sunt regna, nisi magna latrocinia?*” I did not see how this was to prove true of our own country. How could I have supposed that our old and renowned country under a leader whose slogan was “*justitia regnorum fundamentum*” would ever carry out this principle of St. Augustine’s in full force?

How could I have anticipated this in those solemn days of newly-gained freedom? The Germans had urged us Slavs to break free from the absolutism of one despot. How could we have thought that they would make us the victims of another absolutism far more cruel—the despotism of an enemy nation? Who could foresee that while on the one hand the German intellectuals would praise freedom and constitutional rights, the German nation would act as the worst of oppressors? Who could have predicted that they would preach the liberty of the individual, but would trample underfoot the liberties of a whole nation? For it did not seem plausible that these people would base their government upon lies and chicanery; nor that they would proclaim equal rights to us Slavs while actually exacting blind obedience.

They are greatly wrong in their assumption that we do not value our nationality as highly as they do theirs. Do they imagine that we will not resent, nay, not even notice, their excluding us from public office? Do they imagine that we are content and grateful for the few crumbs which they graciously permit us to pick up from the groaning German board? Such

impertinent complacency not only proves their conceit, but also their total lack of justice and intelligence. If they still remember the old proverb, "Pride goeth before a fall," they will certainly see a time when its truth will be fulfilled, though I may not be here to see that time.

I do not wish to dwell on the various developments that roused me from my dream. I have, with some sorrow, concluded that there is little hope for the continued existence of the Austrian Empire. Not that she lacks the will to live, or that she is incapable of existing in her present form; but her life is threatened by the domination of the Germans and Hungarians—two nations joined to form a despotism under one authority. Such a union is a political monstrosity in a nation embracing various languages and traditions. *Contradictio in adjecto*. The Germans and the Hungarians do not desire the good of the whole nation, but, as tyrants always do, only their own profit. This is the same tactic of dividing the country that was tried as early as 1848, and that then set the nation on its dangerous road to downfall.

For my own nation I have no fear. No matter how many tragic ordeals she may have to endure, she has enough good, sound life within her to bear her on undaunted to a new and triumphant existence.

OF THE GERMANIZED LANDS IN THE KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA

Of all the attacks against our nation, the most impudent is the one being circulated in foreign publications which presumes to deny our national identity. Because we had been remiss in our self-development, German fanatics would now pretend to deduce therefrom that we have forfeited our right to be a nation. Among them are even mountebanks who are not ashamed to ask the question whether we have ever been a nation and whether we ever had any rights to nationality. Be-

cause—they say—we have from time immemorial been Germans or, at any rate, have been in subjugation to Germany. . . . Where in this, may we ask, lies our fault and our neighbors' distinction? They make reply that it all dates back to some prehistoric superiority of their race. Theirs is the blood which by its very origin is the nobler, and accordingly theirs is also the superior mind and soul, superior by far to the Slav mind and soul. Such vainglory, which we meet up with every day in German writings, must be attended with patience, for it is the ordinary talk of people who do not know what they are saying. What is surprising, however, is that despite this firm persuasion of theirs, they continue to plot our Germanization. Do they not fear that their blood—being mixed with blood of a lower order—would be contaminated and dishonored? It would seem that they ought rather to issue decrees that no Slav may even approach the Germans, lest he thereby imperil the purity of their breed.

He who wished to be cured of an old, lingering disease must first diagnose it. And when the disease is mortal, diagnosis is even more imperative. Only then does one know what measures will serve to turn death aside. Both diagnosis and cure demand an energetic will. This will, however, consists less of fieriness than of firmness and endurance. We gain nothing by bluster; our weapon is quiet, true, sincere and steady striving, which cannot be confused by subtleties nor dismayed by threats. A nation must promote education on the highest plane of reason and moral thinking. Our nation must come to understand itself and conceive of its future. Before this, all other measures fade into mere palliatives. (1865)

FEDERATION, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE

What is freedom? For everything depends upon proper understanding of the word. It is highly questionable whether such understanding can be attributed to the heads of the

political party which nowadays has most to say in Austria. Those who believe that two or more nations cannot live together or side by side, except that one takes the role of hammer and the other of an anvil—such men lack all sense and sympathy for freedom. Such men want the freedom to command and oppress others. That is the only freedom they understand. Siéyes cried to his contemporaries: “You fools! You want to be free, you who do not know how to be just!” Freedom that is based on no morality—that is, without right and justice, is merely the instinct of a wild animal; it is the name of despotism and oligarchy; it is the abandon of the robber and the thief who makes good his losses at the expense of others. Among men there can be no permanence to freedom without justice. Justice simply means recognition and respect for the rights of our neighbors. I am almost ashamed to repeat these commonplaces, but they have nowhere been so forgotten as here in Austria. A distinguished journal has had the audacity to preach the use of violence against all non-Germans—and this under the slogan of “equal rights for all.” Since 1848, when the voice of liberty was heard even within Austria, I have constantly proselytized for this very simple principle. It alone could solve the problems arising from the heterogeneous national conditions of Austria. In my last pamphlet, published in 1865, *The Idea of the Austrian State*, I stated it once and for all. If Austria is to live, it will have to live in freedom. And this freedom must rest on a confederation of all its peoples. In the long run, Austria must submit to a federal government. Any other course will seal its doom. (1873)

MESSAGE TO THE NATION

We have many patriots who like to brag about their patriotism but who do nothing for the progress of their country and nation. Our nation is in great danger since it is completely surrounded by enemies. But I do not despair and I trust that

the nation will be capable of resisting them all if it really wishes. It is not enough merely to wish it. Everyone must endeavor to preserve his nationality. The Czech nation has a splendid past. The days of Jan Huss were glorious days, when the Czech nation culturally surpassed all the rest of the European nations. It had Charles the Fourth to thank for that, but also itself because it used its opportunities to acquire knowledge. The nation now requires that we educate ourselves and that we act only upon well-grounded reasoning. That is the only testament which I would bequeath to my nation.

If all of our patriots will work sincerely and with true knowledge then I have no fears for our nationality and for our nation. It will maintain itself as long as it desires to do so and longer than its enemies wish.

God grant that all its sons work for the progress of their nation by spreading knowledge and enlightenment!

I do not cease to admonish and implore, yes, even to conjure each good man not to give himself up to idleness but to acquire learning, to work and to endeavor with all his might, in whichever way possible, to help extend and strengthen the realm of truth and justice on this earth. My last words are a heartfelt and fervent prayer that my dear compatriots in Bohemia and in Moravia, regardless of the position in which they may find themselves, never cease to be true to themselves, to truth and to justice.

(1875)

ESCAPE INTO CULTURE

In his time František Ladislav Rieger was, after Palacký, the second most important figure in Czech political life. His opinions were in accord with Palacký's, and there were also family ties between them—Palacký's daughter was Rieger's wife. He was born in 1818 and died in 1903. Because of his political activity he was persecuted by the Austrian regime and spent several years of his life in exile in France. In 1871 he contributed to the protest presented by the Czech deputies against the annexation of Alsace by Germany. During the period when he was forced to limit his political activity, Rieger spent much of his time on cultural work. Among other things, he published and partly edited the first Czech encyclopedia. In August, 1868, he was the initiator of a statement which was presented to the president of the State Assembly in Bohemia, in which, as a result of the electoral machinations of the Austrian officials, the representatives of the Czech majority formed a minority. In this statement eighty Czech deputies announced that they would not attend further sessions of the Assembly. The statement marked a change in the former Czech policy. It also placed Rieger in the front ranks of national leaders. Several years before, in 1861, Rieger had founded the first big Czech political daily, Národní Listy. His Testament, written shortly before his death, is one of the best-known documents of Czech political literature.

PROGRAM OF THE PRAGUE NEWSPAPER, NÁRODNÍ LISTY

We do not hanker for any extra political privileges . . .
We ask no more than equal duties and equal rights.

The Jews are also our compatriots. As consistent advocates

of civil liberty, we demand complete and equal rights for the Jews, as well as all other races. We would, however, like to see them be real compatriots who would forsake their isolated position, nor continue to think themselves foreigners among us. Let them become the people of the nation they live in. Let them join with us in our cultural efforts, in our moral and social order.

In the realm of literature and intellectual life, we ask the same liberty for all. We want a real freedom of the press, not a freedom violated daily by petty ordinances, arbitrary qualifications and police raids. A free press protected by the law to which alone it is responsible.

The problem of national freedom at this time is the crucial issue in the state. This is our demand—that our people be treated with the honor and consideration due to it as a historic nation. For our people constitute the majority in our country. Our claim is for equal rights; we fought for this in 1848, nor have we, since then, for one moment given up our struggle. But let no one imagine that we can be assuaged with an empty and barren recognition in principle of our demands. Not words, but deeds—we must see our equality acknowledged in all walks of public life, even to the state agencies and the schools.

(1861)

THE TESTAMENT

It is my most profound wish that my nation may never allow itself to fall into despair nor ever become conceited in its pride. I should be very glad to see it defend its rights, which have been clearly and objectively formulated; but let it never be betrayed by passion into wronging anyone else. I wish that it may give heed only to the advice of men who are in all things honorable, whose integrity has been proved by their patriotic deeds; but let it close its heart against the loud words and empty slogans, the flatteries playing upon self-con-

ceit, which are often uttered by people who may be immature, self-seeking or of dubious honor. I counsel it to put supreme confidence in its own strength. For this, it must first appraise its strength, without over-estimating it. Armed with self-knowledge, let it never plunge into any foolish adventures which, irrespective even of success or failure, are dangerous to the nation. Let it rather remember always that only by honest, patient effort in the realms of the spiritual and the material will it lay the secure foundations for a brighter future. Furthermore, I trust that my nation may never abandon its ideal and Christian endeavor, exemplifying the eternal principles of honor, justice and humanity. I wish above all that it may never turn its back upon the claims of justice or resort to force, in spite of the fact that a brief violation of justice may promise some immediate success. Bear in mind that universal, international respect for justice provides the one bulwark for nations, especially for small nations. For them, it is particularly dangerous to desert this bastion and to tread upon the quagmire of "might makes right."

THE PARDUBICE AFFAIR

This passage is taken from the book Our Resurrection, by Jakub Malý. It provides an example of what the life of the Czech inhabitants was like while Bohemia was a mere province of Austria-Hungary. The town of Pardubice is in the eastern part of Bohemia. No Germans ever settled there, nor were any there in the sixties, when this event took place, with the exception of the military and government officials sent there from Vienna to do the very things described in the following.

On September 4, 1862, was celebrated the tenth anniversary of the death of the Czech poet, Turinský, native of Pardubice and, by appointment of the Emperor and King, a justice of the peace. In the evening a concert was held at the theater, which was attended by a fashionable audience that included the mayor and the entire City Council. After the concert—it was about half past nine—the City Council and a large multitude, led by the city band, marched in perfect order to the City Hall, where Turinský had been born. There they stopped and sang the Czech hymn, *Kde domov můj?* ("Where is my Home?"). The mayor then spoke a few words in tribute to the late poet and the crowd prepared to depart quietly.

At this moment a patrol of dragoons from the Windischgrätz regiment, which was garrisoned at Pardubice, appeared on the scene, announced to the City Council that Colonel Bellegarde had prohibited the singing, and commanded them to disperse immediately. The citizens protested, declaring that no

one had the right to forbid them to sing. . . . The patrol thereupon arrested the City Council and the mayor and took them to the vice-governor of the district, Herr Grabensteiner, who immediately dismissed them. They returned to the waiting assemblage and asked the people to disperse quietly. Then, together with their prominent guests, they proceeded to the municipal reading room.

Meanwhile the soldiers had mounted their horses and were ranging viciously through the city, hunting down the defenseless citizens. Two bands of dragoons rushed about the town square, beating whomever they encountered with the flat of their sabres. A number of entirely innocent persons of both sexes were beaten, and some were even cut by the sharp edges of the weapons. This violence lasted till midnight, with Colonel Bellegarde looking on from his window. But the vice-governor was nowhere to be seen. . . .

Those who expected that the guilty would be punished were sadly disillusioned. . . . The vice-governor was pensioned off, but Colonel Bellegarde was promoted. But this was not enough—injustice must be heaped upon injustice. The mayor of Pardubice and many other persons were arrested for illegal assemblage. . . .

Since they were not punished, the dragoons of Pardubice grew more arrogant and malicious, and on October 12th of the same year, at a wake in a country inn at Počernice, without any provocation, they committed violence and even murder. At the investigation it was brought out that after the murder one of the dragoons had said boldly: "What can happen to us for this? At Pardubice we did much worse; they'll probably load us up with some more medals."

. . . Not the least proof of the indignity inflicted upon our nation was the final settlement of the Pardubice matter. The District Court of Kutná Hora declared all accused citizens not guilty, but when the state attorney appealed this decision, a

higher Court pronounced them all guilty of illegal assemblage and sentenced each to four days in prison. The Supreme Court, to which the citizens appealed, confirmed this verdict, declaring itself in agreement with the lower Court's pronouncement that the singing of songs at a national demonstration incited the people against the government.

Such was the satisfaction accorded the citizens of Pardubice.

CZECHOSLOVAKS FOR FRANCE

This quotation, taken from the book Political History of the Czechoslovak Nation, by Zdeněk Tobolka, is a contribution to the study of Franco-Czechoslovak relations, which underwent many vicissitudes from the Middle Ages to the present day. Bohemia had an alliance with France as early as the 14th century, and the Czech King, Jan, paid with his life his debt to his ally. He fell in the battle of Crécy sur Pontieu in 1346 when, in fulfillment of the terms of his treaty, he went to the assistance of the King, Philip IV of France. Five centuries later the Czechoslovak nation again demonstrated its ancient friendship for France when it protested then against the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871. A description of how this protest came to pass is particularly fitted to convey the political atmosphere of the time. It also makes clear how difficult it was for the Czechoslovak nation to influence the foreign policy of the Austrian Monarchy.

THE FIGHT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKS FOR THE RIGHTS OF FRANCE

The Czechs found it very hard to bear that they were not represented in the Austrian delegations. The moment Napoleon III was captured the old combine of powers in Europe collapsed and a new constellation began to appear on the horizon, a German-Austrian one. The convergence of the Austrian and German empires really began on the 5th of December, 1870. In the face of this new situation which was taking shape the Czechs felt the urgency of discussing the Czech question and their opinions on the foreign policy of Austria with those in influential places. They felt the lack of a tribunal which

would give them a hearing before the peoples of the world. In the delegations which convened at Pest on the 24th of November and thereafter, the stand taken by the Austrian Germans and Magyars, who never attempted to oppose Prussia, predominated.

The French consul, A. Lefaivre, accompanied by the vice-consul in Temesvar, Emil Picot, came to Prague from Vienna, charged with organizing in the German kingdoms and in the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy a strong declaration in behalf of his unhappy country. He called on Palacký, Rieger and some Czech politicians to protest solemnly against the ravishment of France and against the prepared seizure of Alsace-Lorraine, in the interests of their own nation. He pointed out that the French and the Czechs stood for the same principles of liberty and the rights of nations, and had the same adversaries. Finally, in a communication to Rieger, dated the 19th of November, 1870, he wrote: "Nothing would be more glorious for the Czechs at this moment, nothing would prove more productive for their future than a splendid manifesto in favor of France." The Czech political leaders who had already considered issuing such a manifesto on the internal policy of the Habsburg Monarchy, decided to present the Imperial Chancellor, Count Beust, with a memorandum on the foreign policy of the Habsburg Monarchy and to request that it be presented to the Emperor and to Parliament. Thus they proved themselves to be true sons of those 15th century Czechs who had so bravely fought for freedom.

The Czech political leaders, headed by Palacký and Rieger, did not issue their memorandum in the form of a brilliant manifesto as proposed by the French consul, Lefaivre. They merely presented to the Chancellor of the Court a note protesting against the internal policy of Austria which denied the new principle of the Austrian State, national equality. They expressed their opposition to the Austrian foreign policy of

forming closer ties with the new Greater Germany. They raised the mighty idea of modern world politics when they wrote: "All nations, be they large or small, have an equal right to self-determination and to their individuality. Only by the recognition of equality and the right of free self-determination for all nations can true liberty and brotherhood, universal peace and true humanity flourish." In their memorandum the Czech leaders plainly gave evidence of their sympathies toward France. In the name of the right of self-determination they demanded that the Germans return Alsace-Lorraine to the French nation, "which has done so much for the cause of civilization and most of all for the growth of the principles of humanity and liberty." They protested against the fact that the Germans had torn away from the French nation "whole regions, the inhabitants of which felt themselves to be Frenchmen and wished to remain Frenchmen."

They uttered a prophetic truth when, in regard to France, they asserted: "The Czech nation is convinced that such an illustrious nation, rightfully conscious of its national pride and valor, will not long stand the humiliation of being deprived of its land. This must become the inevitable source of new wars and therefore of new blows to the interests of humanity and to the culture of mankind." In January, 1871, even the Slovaks in Pest arrayed themselves on the side of France. At that time deputy William Paulíny-Tóth offered a petition in their name in the Magyar legislature. It remained there unheeded.

The Czech manifesto was, at that time, the first demonstration of European political leaders in behalf of France and the first instance of one nation taking the part of another nation overtaken by misfortune. Immediately after its arrival Consul Lefavre sent a telegraphic report to the man who was the soul of the new French Republic, L. Gambetta, and on the 11th of December he also wrote to Rieger expressing his

thanks. Lefaivre wrote: "Ingratitude has never been one of the political principles of France; I venture to proclaim that by this act you have laid the foundation of an eternal alliance between our two countries." Then, in the early part of February, 1871, Lefaivre brought a personal message from Gambetta assuring Rieger of the gratitude of France.

In Austria the Czech leaders received a much more severe rebuff for their memorandum than had been expected. Beust employed brutal tactics towards the representatives of the Czech nation. On the 14th of December, 1870, he returned the memorandum to Rieger without having presented it either to the Emperor or to Parliament.

SCAVENGERS AMONG THE NATIONS

The Czech poet, Julius Zeyer, whose dates are 1841-1901, was one of the first modern Czech poets to be strongly influenced by Latin culture. His love for Roman culture and history was colored by a delight in exotic Oriental themes. He took no part in the political life. Yet many of his words have a contemporary sound.

I love peace and quiet above everything. I hate war as does every just man. But I should like to see a great war that would clear the air like a thunderstorm, shatter all chains, and thrust back to their natural bounds the hyenas among the nations. This is needed most of all, for not until then will it be possible to enthrone the peace for which we long. The logic of history and the spirit of God which guides history demand this. The spirit of God does not, of course, desire war and bloodshed, but the breaking of fetters and the restoration of human dignity on earth, where arrogance and hate have ruled for centuries. I call for God's judgment, I call for justice; millions are calling for justice and their voice will find the ear of God.

THE AUTHOR OF "SCHWEJK"

Jaroslav Hašek attained world-wide fame by his novel The Story of the Brave Soldier Schwejk, which was translated into English as well as many other languages. Schwejk became the symbol of Czech opposition to Vienna during the first World War. Hašek, in this novel, voiced the attitude of the Czech common man toward the Habsburg Monarchy. And his protest was more eloquent than the fieriest manifesto. Schwejk entered world literature as a symbol of the little man lost in the labyrinth of world politics and universal confusion who guides himself by common-sense and whose weapon against oppression is a slightly foolish guile which is perhaps more effective than wisdom in a world not ruled by reason.

Jaroslav Hašek was born in 1883 and died in 1923. The statement cited here is from a speech on October 30, 1916, to the Czechoslovak prisoners of war in Russia, where the Czechoslovak legions were being organized.

Austria has not been standing on firm ground for a long time. One day the artificial structure of the Dual Monarchy must crumble, its artificial conglomerate of states must fall apart.

It should have been apparent long ago to the ruling circles in Vienna that some day the entire Czech nation will touch off the powder barrel, and that the long-awaited explosion will hurl that nation into the seat of government so long usurped by its enemies.

Blindly, Austria had her last fling. For the last time she took advantage of her power and pronounced cruel sentences

on hapless people. But the bloody work of the courts and the whole system of persecution could not halt the rebirth of the Czechs. With every fresh injury the nation's consciousness of itself and longing for independence mounted. The flood of edicts from the Ministries of Justice and the Interior, the political offices and military courts only brought closer the day of reckoning, of the utter destruction of the Empire.

The ill-starred adventure of this war and Austria's political courting of Germany necessarily brought in their train greater suffering for the people. There could be only one end to this. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy with its history of serious political blunders had to fall.

Our people lived a bitter life under Austrian domination. Every step of their daily life was guided by a foreign hand. The sun did not shine for us under that black-and-yellow roof. The time has come to wipe out the state where we lived in such misery, where justice was always to be found on the side of the unjust oppressor. The complete destruction of Austria must be our political ideal. It is no longer a matter of building wire fences in Charles Square, as we did during the anti-German riots in Prague, to make the imperial dragoons topple from their horses. Today we are forming a Czech army. No more mere demonstrations. Today it is a matter of life and death. Something has been given back to us; the old Czech courage has returned.

" . . . And merrily wreck old rotting Austria . . ." as the old forbidden song goes. Let us forget our political parties. Let all parties join in one great anti-Austrian party. We have a million rifles, cannons, machine guns. We must make the statesmen of Europe take off their hats to us. We know that all reasonable Europeans today desire nothing more than the destruction of old Austria. And it goes without saying that we are expected to lead the onslaught, since our interest in the fall of this tyranny is the greatest. Today we are marching

against Austria. Our arms are consecrated by our high purpose and our great hope.

In this great hour of upheaval we could not stop at mere paper protests or at the passive resistance used by Czech regiments on the battlefields. We are mobilizing all true Czechs, all those who are ready for an armed revolt against German aggression. We are mobilizing those who want to return to a liberated homeland, our real, our only homeland, not the one which included foreign tyrants who spoke honeyed words while their hand held a horsewhip.

We had been told that the Austrian government cared for the general welfare. What that welfare actually looked like is best known to ourselves. Venal egoists ruled that state always. How could these people forget their personal ambitions and pro-German interests for the sake of the general welfare? They were armed prophets, violent not with words but with the sword. It is for us to wrest the sword from their hands.

We have no need of long speeches. Today everyone knows what to do. We need not cite history. We know what we were and also what we shall be. Take your rifles, men, and your bayonets. Listen to the stamping, marching feet, listen to the old Czech song they are singing. Our Czech regiments are taking their positions. And we are going with them—to a man!

TO THOSE WHO DESPAIR

This is a passage from an article by a Czech journalist who lived and worked outside his native land during the first World War and published one of those journals which in foreign lands sustained the Czechoslovak movement for independence. The name of the writer is not important because at that time a host of similar articles was being printed throughout the world. Then, as today, the Czechoslovaks sought encouragement from the history of their nation and recalled to their minds the words and faith of their forefathers. This article was written in 1916, but with a few modifications it would do very well for the years 1939 to 1941.

No one can accuse us of bargaining. We pride ourselves on the fact that we presented our manifesto on foreign policy when there was no outlook for victory and no hope for the future. Our manifesto was *not* issued in the bloody spring of 1915 when the Russians were already posted in the Carpathian Mountains, preparing to fall upon Budapest and Vienna and deliver the death-blow to the Austrian Monarchy. At that time it was the Hungarians who bargained with both sides, haggled, negotiated; we bided our time. They, as usual, followed in the footsteps of their Hunyady, while we in silence observed the tradition laid down by our Žižka. Our manifesto appeared at a significant time, a painful time, but a gallant one for such a statement. For it was issued a few months later, during those difficult, dreary days of autumn, when the Russian army was retreating along the entire front, when the Austrians turned

their cannon to shatter Belgrade, when the Serbs, with their whole army and their unfortunate king, were driven from their fatherland. The Germans were advancing on every front, and the whole world seemed to be retreating before them, as though enchanted by the power of their will, wonder-struck by their genius for work, and blinded by these wearers of the Napoleonic mask of barbarism. The Slavic Balkan countries, on which we had placed so much hope, were pitifully reduced; the Serbs had become a people without a country. All, it seemed, had failed. Everything was dark, the adverse winds blew from every quarter, and in this storm only Salonica, the place where the Allies had succeeded in consolidating their troops, shone like a little beacon to us lost on our way.

There was nothing to grasp at; the star that guided the destiny of small nations was sinking fast. But for all that, it was precisely in the days of despair that we presented our plea to Europe. We flung down the gauntlet, not to a moribund Austria, but to an Austria that was a triumphant and threatening foe. This was our greatest strength, and in this sort of strength we pledge ourselves to live. In the end it appeared that Time, who is a righteous judge, smiled upon our courage and idealism. After the darkness and the tempest, the sun reappeared, the Allies rallied, and time healed many a wound. But the ways of war are not those of peace. Wounds may heal in times of peace, but they bleed again in times of war. And thus, no sooner did we take heart than we were once more plunged into sadness. An unlooked-for development came to shatter our calm. The French lost their vital position near Verdun. . . . The strong man stands and waits and keeps his faith where the coward gives way to fits of despair. . . . Problems descended upon us like a rain of bullets. In such times, head, heart, nerves are at their tensest. One would like to retain one's integrity, to obey the inner voice, but the outer tumult drowns it. It is hell, and the devil of temptation hovers

about you and stirs the fires higher. Where shall we turn? Are not our dreams idle, after all? Can we not be warned by the sad sight of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro? You Czechs, you miserable beggars, ought you not humbly accept the crumb generously offered to you by the chivalrous German, that friend of small nations, that savior of Europe? The strong man keeps his eyes open, and sets his mouth in a smile. The weak one casts down his eyes and weeps. He does not want to be a traitor. But he has not the strength to go on. He had been good enough to go ahead with all of them. But now he stays behind, sprawled in the ditch, because the march is too long and arduous for him. He is lying there, alone, forsaken, and he fears that he may perish. Still, he would rather quietly perish than summon up that last ounce of energy which would save him. It is these people of less intrepid hearts who must be aroused, because—as we all know—weakness among us is fatal to us all. The least weakness, and we perish.

How to arouse them? By great words, by great books, by great men and by great friends. Of these we have enough and we can put our trust in them. We know we have sincere and great friends, given us by the Grace of God that we may not walk alone in these trying times. Let us take the gaunt, suffering Havlíček by the hand. He will support us better than the iron Bismarck. Though the colors he bequeathed us are red for blood and white for tears, yet his heritage was honesty and strength. It is unthinkable that the noble Czechs of 1916 shall wear black and yellow, the colors befitting compromising, spineless scoundrels.

We shall not kneel in that dust where the blood of our great fathers was spilled by the Austrian gendarmes, to cringe and offer ourselves as flunkies to the Austrian masters.

It is important to read and re-read the *Tyrolean Elegies*, to learn them by heart, to nourish our souls with their message. He who does not own this immortal book, let him borrow his

neighbor's and copy out these poems. It always went well with the Czechs when they were copying and transcribing documents. We, in our exile, are busy with our transcribing, too. The *Postille* has been transcribed; so has Komenský's *Labyrinth* and the *Lešetínský Kovář*, and the suppressed *Songs of a Slave* by Svatopluk Čech. . . . Whatever had to be patiently copied out was always eloquent of strength, truth and life.

Take heart. Today we know what to read, we know where to seek counsel and friendship. From the French, our Allies, we have borrowed the inspiring words the great Danton spoke during the greatest of revolutions: "Courage, more courage, and always courage!" We hold these words in our hearts; we fix them on our banner, for they will sustain us in our darkest hours. He was the lion of the convent, and we Czechs, who have the lion on our coat-of-arms, feel toward him a great affinity, even though he is not one of our nation. We have heroes enough of our own, however. There are those of history and those who are still living, our own great men, who inspire us and support us where we would falter. We have Havlíček, we have his disciple, the wise and incorruptible Palacký, who said: "We were before ever there was an Austria, and we shall be after she has passed"—words like medicine for our griefs. And we have Masaryk with his motto, "Fear nothing and steal nothing!"—words which steel the hearts of even the weakest among us. Masaryk, the professor and philosopher, speaks the profound wisdom of the common man. No harm can come to one who is unafraid and honorable. All is clear and simple, and those in Vienna know it and tremble. Their hatred of Masaryk is the more fierce because he is, in addition to a political enemy, an astute and good man.

For myself, I have always had faith. I do not cease to have faith. My faith is so firm that I think I could almost do without outside support. Therefore I have no fears for myself. But we are not men of steel. Faith gives us strength, it is true,

but sometimes our nerves play us false. I too—why should I deny it?—have had moments of great fatigue, of strange melancholy, of numbed feelings. Events are sometimes too much for you. . . . We are living in times of terrible tension; we feel like an innocent man accused of a crime; we tremble behind the court-room door, awaiting the jury's verdict. Truly, the strain upon the nerves is overwhelming. Then I recall to mind Jirásek, who puts into the mouth of his old mountaineer Plšek the simple statement, "We did it anyway." It was done—in spite of all hardship.

Those words were written while the world was still at peace. Now, these are extraordinary and momentous days, when all stands and falls by the power of our own will; when the struggle is intensified; when our destiny depends on what we can accomplish before the end of the war. It must be done. I feel the truth of this more keenly than ever.

WAR AND ART

Otakar Fischer, Czech literary historian, professor at the Charles University, poet, journalist, critic of the legitimate stage and director of the foremost Czech theater, the National Theater of Prague, was born in 1883 and died in the spring of 1938. He died of heart paralysis when he received the news of the annexation of Austria. He heads a long line of Czechoslovaks who, it is true, certainly did not commit suicide, but whose manner of dying was such that it seemed as if Nature wished to spare them suicide. They died as though by their death they would symbolize the temporary fate of their country. Fischer's article, written in May, 1916, is a typical example of how Czechoslovak intellectuals combined the national idea with the idea of humanity and how they strove to unite their national tradition with the universal world progress.

In Shakespeare's *Macbeth* the feeling of a great death which pervades mankind in times of war is embodied in these classic words:

Alas, poor country!
 Almost afraid to know itself! It cannot
 Be call'd our mother, but our grave; where nothing,
 But who knows nothing, is once seen to smile;
 Where sighs and groans and shrieks that rent the air
 Are made, not mark'd, where violent sorrow seems
 A modern ecstasy; the dead man's knell
 Is there scarce ask'd for who; and good men's lives
 Expire before the flowers in their caps,
 Dying or ere they sicken.

These verses are spoken by the nobleman Ross. He speaks of Scotland and yet it seems to us as if a contemporary were

speaking of Europe today. The sound of funeral rites seems to pervade cities, slumbering villages, concert halls and troubled dwellings; abnormal death has become the most natural thing in the world. When ten healthy youths meet they know almost with certainty that some of their number will be missing before the year is out. Grim shadows of war take their places, unseen, at the tables of the most peace-loving groups. Yet, are there still people in Europe who are able to think of something besides the present with its horrors? Who can be unmoved by parting with those dearest to him, by the tottering of all values, the uncertainty of tomorrow? None but a fool, a child, a hermit or an egoist.

Recently we have often heard politicians and half-baked politicians, diplomats from the editorial room and private strategists ask derisively: "What of art and philosophy today? Now that steel and gun-powder determine our lives, how is it possible to care about your imaginings, inventions, ideologies, romancings?" Nothing is lacking but to have someone ask: "How is it possible to read anything else except the papers today?" Why, even among the authors themselves a similar skepticism finds sufficient fertile soil. "How can the critics be expected to concern themselves with the tragedies of the Ancients in time of war?" I read in one review; and after the mobilization not a few of us lived through weeks and months harassed by a distaste for work, incapable of reading anything except so-called war literature, trying to understand contemporary events by studying the masters of tactical and strategic description, Tolstoy or Zola. Then one becomes conscious of the incompatibility of two national psychologies, the irreconcilableness of the characters of two nations, through the contrast between two such styles as that of Garšin and Liliencron, for example.

Those times have passed. In the ranks of the literati much of the skeptical frame of mind towards their own profession

has already disappeared. The noisy emphasis upon the unusual times, the predominance of timely matter and the like has also become an exception. Perhaps we have learned, under the increasing pressure of reality, to accept as a lingering and incurable necessity of uncertain outcome, that which a year and a half ago we felt as a violent, transient fever. What was formerly the subject of uncertain conjectures, thought on the whole to be too wonderful for realization, has become our spiritual sustenance today. What at one time sounded like fiction, today is surpassed by reality; indeed, we now accept it almost as a matter of fact. And life, our cultural life, is returning to its old well-trodden paths as far as it is possible, accepting the great events of the time as an inescapable, somber background.

After the startled, nervous quiet of the first period of the war, a new activity slowly made itself felt. The theatrical season has apparently run its normal course. Music, which has the power to convey much that words fail to express, has been acclaimed with increasing interest and enthusiasm. Journalistic life as well as publishing enterprise entered the second year of the war hopefully. Those returning from the field of battle hungrily seek the manifestations of native art and in the quiet of the work-rooms new works come to completion. It is natural that the creative achievements originating in war-time are not always in direct relation to the present. The art of silence and of concealment is not the least of the new values which the abnormal times have taught us. But it is not essential, it is not even advisable, that the arts draw exclusively from the so-called reservoir of the moment and offer a truthful impression of the period in which they came into being. The history of poetry shows of what little worth are the majority of poems dedicated to the actual aims of war, full of militant enthusiasm and fervent cursing of the enemies. If we were spared the flood of martial poetry which elsewhere mounted to hun-

108

dreds of thousands of stanzas, we can, on the other hand, present an endless array of war-like poetry, profound words which in the midst of the turmoil of battle embody the feeling of universal love toward those who suffer. If the war brought to all of Europe an enhanced national consciousness, a shy yet proud avowal of devotion to the fatherland, half-prompted, half-hinted, has come into being in our native land.

But all this does not determine the true substance of war literature. Everything which testifies indirectly to its origin in war time belongs to it. Art in its purest form becomes art when it over-substantiates its subject. The substance does not matter so much as the rapidity of perception and the profundity of inspiration. It is wrong to judge an idyllic spirit from an idyl, an author's laughter directly from his comedy; the artistic psychology is generally more complicated. . . .

I do not share the lack of faith in our native creative effort. First of all because it seems unjust to me to deny its keen consciousness of the significance and gravity of the times. If, today, we read our older national authors we find that, every little while, we are slightly confounded by some remark which appears relevant to our present day. It is as if the authors of the nineties and the beginning of the 20th century had almost foreseen the great European catastrophe. One day it will be the enticing task of the historians of our culture to note how for years and years the approaching martial conflagration was proclaimed in our publications, in our poetry. So, contrary to the notion that present events should change the entire form of our literature, we may be certain that all literature and all culture are governed by their own, internal laws independent of historical constellations but concerned with maintaining native principles and traditions. Any sort of regimentation here is useless. It is useless and oft-times presumptuous to exclude certain tendencies, as has been tried here, whether they are called romance or individualism or otherwise, from the entire

national culture. For us it is enough to know that all belletristic expression, though seemingly unrelated and untimely, is concerned with certain phases of national endeavor and as such is justified and has a documentary importance of its own. Since we have had some critical training, we will not lower our literary standards by assenting to the cheap and naive phrase "what is Czech is fair." But the war has caused us to love and respect our mother tongue more deeply and more fervently as a palpable and most effective literary bond. Today we understand the joy which filled the minds of enlightened leaders and revivers more than a century ago whenever a new Czech book of value appeared. We understand why their patriotism was so strongly re-enforced by philological and ethnographical considerations.

Besides great national feeling, super-nationalism asserts itself in our poetry: besides the consciousness of belonging to a historically-given unit, mankind is affirmed. It would seem that songs of hate have run their course even outside of our borders. In the great national literatures which not infrequently were a model and an incentive to us, today, in the midst of a raging war, it is being increasingly understood that the greater the poet the more profoundly and more humanly does he suffer the agonies of hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men. The conviction makes itself felt that the sword of universal sorrow pierces the heart of the true poet just as it pierces the heart of each inarticulate sufferer. Though the word humanity has a thin sound today, I still say that the greater the poet the more human the man. I recall a battle of words, well-known in the history of literature. When the greatest poet of his day was presented to the greatest conqueror of modern times he said: "Voilà un homme." Interpreters cannot agree whether this one meant to say of Goethe, "See, this is a real man" or "ecce homo." My conception of a great poet today would be to have him desire the designation

“voilà un homme” and to comprehend it in the same way that we comprehend “ecce homo.” I think that the literary situation today may be summed up by an assertion in which many will seek an intentional antithesis: the true poet of our time can produce a great work whose elements may come from any source, even from the most remote. He may rhapsodize about his loves, he may write of his personal defeats, of the world’s primeval time, the Milky Way, the charms of the Orient, or spirited revelry: but it is unthinkable for me that he would be so insensible to mankind’s present tragedy that his tales and perhaps his laughter would not hold something of contemporary grandeur, something of today’s sorrow, stress and lamentation. “When the death-knell sounds, we do not ask for whom.” Perhaps. But, after all, the poet is destined to ask. If he does not then perhaps it is because he would wish to ask too much and too despairingly.

CZECH DEPUTIES SPEAK

This declaration of the Czech deputies in the Austrian Parliament was made on May 30, 1917, at a time when the war was still not going any too well for the Allies. The Czechoslovak movement for independence based its demands that it be recognized by the Allied governments on this declaration. It is symptomatic that the decisive incentive to the declaration was given by the manifesto of the Czech authors, dated May 19, 1917, which was signed by 150 prominent Czech writers. In it they demanded that the Czech deputies take a firm stand toward Vienna, or else resign in a body. Just as the awakening of the Czech nation at the end of the 18th century was fundamentally influenced by writers, so in the years 1914 to 1918 the authors also played an important part in the struggle for freedom.

Relying in this historical moment upon the natural right of each nation to self-determination and free development; fortified further by irrevocable historical rights and state papers of undoubted validity, we shall demand at the head of our people the union of all branches of the Czechoslovak people into one democratic Bohemian state, which shall include the Slovak branch connected geographically with the historical Bohemian fatherland. . . .

The Bohemian nation declares solemnly before all the world its determination to regain the liberty and independence enjoyed by the ancient Bohemian crown. While demanding political independence, the Bohemian nation in accordance with the new democracy postulates for the entire Czechoslovak race the right of self-determination.

PARIS IS NOT FRENCH

This article by the Czech poet, Jiří Karásek of Lvovice, was written in April, 1918. But it sounds as though it had been written yesterday, for Germans are again being transported to Prague by the tens of thousands, while Czechoslovaks are being deported to forced labor in Germany. Even Paris is now more German than French. In Karásek's article there is also reflected the typical Czechoslovak faith that the spirit must eventually triumph over force. Perhaps it is worthy of mention that in 1938 Prague had about 900,000 inhabitants, of whom some 30,000—that is 3 per cent—were Germans. Many of these Germans came from the so-called Sudeten territory. They had come to Prague because they were employed in the civil service of Czechoslovakia. In 1918, too, there were few Germans living in Prague. Naturally, the statistics of that time show many Czechs registered as Germans. The Austrian regime forced them to claim German nationality against their will.

An interesting poem, "Prag," from the pen of Hans Watzlik, appears in the Easter supplement of the daily, *Bohemia*. Though its poetic qualities are below average, it is interesting for the author's attitude. It gives us a clear idea how the younger generation in Germany looks upon Prague, upon the Czech problem, upon the problem of living with us. There is a striking new note: whereas the older German generation of Prague made every effort to discredit Prague beyond the boundaries of Bohemia, the younger generation glorifies the city—but as a symbol of German glory! Hans Watzlik, for example, makes his bow to Prague as follows: "Revered City! Born from the golden sweat of our forebears . . ." There is little grandeur in this image, and still

less good taste, but it is meant as a glorification. And Hans Watzlik proclaims resolutely that Prague will never be surrendered by the Germans, that it is and must always be an "age-old German jewel."

One may well be tempted to smile at this. But it is no mere expression of naivete, nor is it an anachronism. The poet is maintaining in all seriousness that Prague was once German, that it became Czech, but that it must again be German. Once it was German "durch deutsche Forschung, deutsche Kunst" ("through German science, German art"). Now it must again become German by German might. At a time when whole new German states are born, like Curland or Lithuania, why should not a mere city become German also, "durch deutsche Macht"? Let us consider the matter before Prague actually does become the coveted "German jewel." Let us look these new usurpers in the eye.

Hans Watzlik takes great pride in the fact that German emperors ruled in Prague. That is true, but in reality they were, first of all, kings of Bohemia who were German emperors besides, not the other way around. The Czech king Karel (Charles) I chose Prague as the seat of his Bohemian kingdom and knew the German Reich only as a source of his duties as its ruler, Emperor Charles IV, and not as the object of his love. Rudolf II never even visited Germany. He always lived in Prague and did not care about the Reich. He loved Prague and considered himself the ruler of Prague and the Kingdom of Bohemia. It would therefore not be easy for the Germans to claim either one of these two kings and emperors as their own. And in general they would find it hard to establish a historic claim upon Prague. In the history of Prague the Germans mean nothing, except as colonists. At the time of Jan Huss they distinguished themselves by their exodus from the University, i.e., by a passive demonstration. In the eighteenth century Prague was Germanized, but not by German

might. The most important responsible factor in this was the decadence of the Czech nation as a consequence of the catastrophe at Bílá Hora (White Mountain). But the nineteenth century thoroughly corrected this. Prague was Czech again, as it always had been, even under the German paint and powder. It is necessary to remind Hans Watzlik that Prague was never enriched by "German science, German art," because neither ever existed in Prague. It is possible to conquer Prague by "German might." Why not? Brussels, Belgrade, Warsaw were thus conquered. But it will never be conquered by German science nor German art.

Consider, for example, German literature! The greatest German poet in Prague is Hugo Salus, a district celebrity, a parrot shedding lyric feathers fit to adorn the "*Gartenlaube*" at the most. Compare with this the beautiful, expressive, strong development of Czech poetry. Where have the Germans a figure equal to Vrchlický or Zeyer, not to speak of the younger poets? Take the German theater: into the second most important theater of Prague (Stavovské divadlo) they have put a cinema; the theater in the New Town is cluttered up with Viennese operettas. We celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of our National Theater with whole series of original plays by our own authors; where is there one dramatic talent among the Germans of Prague? Take music: we have Smetana and Dvořák. Baron Prochazka is a composer too, to be sure, but he does not compare with Smetana and Dvořák. Take painting and sculpture: the worst canvases hanging in the Modern Gallery are signed with German names. The most passable among them is Gabriel Max, and he was not even a Prague German, having come from Munich. Which of the Germans is a match for our Mánes, Purkyně, Aleš, Chittussi, again purposely omitting the youngest artists? A Krattner? Have the Prague Germans a Myslbek? Oh yes, they have a Metzner . . .

I could go on, but it would be superfluous after this com-

parison. To Hans Watzlik we must say: neither by German science nor by German art will you conquer Prague! The state is supporting you; you have subsidies, foundations; you have lots of money. The Czech nation had to found its own academy, as it had to build its own National Theater, its own Museum. The Czech artist gets none of the state's funds. And yet, in Prague you are nothing and we are everything. This is no mere phrase. The German will always remain a stranger to Prague, even if he stayed here for thousands of years, because he will never understand the city. Prague will always be Czech, even if a miracle did happen and the Germans multiplied a hundred-thousand-fold and only one Czech were left. Even then, Prague would speak to this one Czech, and the hundreds of thousands of Germans would remain deaf to its voice. We have not won Prague by the sword; we have created it. It was the scene of our happiness and our misfortunes, it witnessed our victories and our failures; here we have lived in hope and in danger. Prague is the image and symbol of all that is Czech. It is the capital of the Czech state, even though that state is the object of your attacks. What has Prague really meant to you Germans? You cannot even speak of follies and visions, because you never experienced anything at all here! The Czech nation has an exclusive claim upon Prague, which is the mirror of its dream. Prague does not reflect your dream because it is not two-faced, bearing in itself two dreams as impossible to unite as water and oil. Again and again I say: You will not conquer Prague by your science and art. And in order to conquer it by force, you will have to hurry. It seems to me that the time is not far away when physical force will mean nothing; when even long-range cannons will not carry far enough; when the worth of every nation will be reckoned solely in terms of its culture, its science, its art, not in terms of its cannons and machine guns. Then it will be too late to conquer Prague. We shall again be a free nation as we were in the

days when we had Huss and Chelčický, before your Luther and Melanchthon, and when all Europe listened to the words of Komenský (Comenius). And then Prague will be really ours, so much so that perhaps even you will admit it. Because it is in accord with our psychic and moral life, because it is our complete and natural expression; because it reflects our thoughts, even the most subtle, the most ephemeral ones; because it understands our dreams and longings, though they be formless; because it understands our troubled heart, our ideas and feelings, while it does not understand anything about you. On the contrary; it opposes your desires. If a Czech heart is still despondent, believe me, it will be so no longer. We all feel that the greatness of a nation lies not in numbers, but in the strength of the idea it embodies. . . . This small Czech nation can be great and powerful if its young dreams and blooming hopes are carried to realization by the mounting fervor and effort of all.

FREEDOM AND LITERATURE

Jindřich Vodák, the author of this article, was a literary and dramatic critic. He was born in 1867 and died in 1938. His article, reprinted here, was written towards the end of the first World War when the victory of the Allies was almost certain and the Austrian censorship had begun to relax. The article answers the question: can the cultural life of a nation flourish without political freedom? Later, of course, a more effective answer was given by the development of Czech and Slovak literature in the years of freedom. This development confirmed Vodák's hopes rather than the fears expressed in the final paragraph of this article.

When that glorious, liberating future of which we are dreaming really does come, surely it will find us prepared. We are all waiting for it, we all firmly believe in it. But our belief must be proved by the way we prepare for this future . . .

It is up to our poets and writers to develop themselves into the image of the New Man free from shackles, of an erect and towering stature, a man who will be fit to realize possibilities hitherto undreamed of. Soon we shall be able to pour out the full measure of our wrath, choked down for so long. Soon we shall shed the clear light of day upon all the wrongs kept dark so long, to which we could refer only in subtle hints. We shall be able to deluge our enemies with our satire and scorn and to cheer our heroic fighters on their way to victory. There will be feasts of poetry and writing such as the world has never seen. To say that the dumb will begin to speak is but to give

a weak indication of what is to come. Once, when Jirásek wrote a purely historical novel about the Hussite King Jiří of Poděbrady, it was suppressed although Jirásek had undoubtedly taken all possible objections of the Austrian censor into account. But now we shall be able to portray not only Jiří of Poděbrady and his times with all the detail demanded by our hearts and our consciences. Other historical figures, other deeds, other events will be raised to life also, after having been kept underground for so long, because it was never "advisable" to mention them. We have our heroes to hail as loudly as they deserve; we have our dead at whose tombs the nation will wish to voice its unending gratitude and pride. And we have our memories, great memories that are crying to be communicated to the world . . .

Are our creative writers equal to all this? Will they be able to do justice to it? Or will something in them be forever broken, something which can never heal again? Will the dead weight of the past crush them hopelessly? There are birds which have been so long unaccustomed to flying that they find it hard to get over a fence.

THE TASK OF LITERATURE

František Xaver Šalda (1867-1937), was the founder of modern Czech literary criticism. He was professor of the History of Modern Literature at the Charles University in Prague. He was the most distinguished essayist of modern Czech literature, and was also well known as a poet, a dramatist and a novelist. He is second only to Masaryk and Beneš as a leader of the Czechoslovak intelligentsia, for while he did not play an active role in political life, his profound influence on several generations of Czech and Slovak intellectuals was not without political consequences. Šalda was conceded to be the literary dean of these generations. Being decidedly oriented toward Western European culture, he, like Masaryk, fostered the principle of cosmopolitanism in the new Czech cultural life. He was an esthetic purist. His work was inspired by a profound moral sense derived from the teachings of Chelčický, and stimulated his followers to worthy, thoughtful work of their own. The proverb, "slavica non leguntur," proved true in the case of Šalda, who was of a stature equal to any poet and thinker in Europe. His Czech writings had founded and inspired a whole new culture. It is to be regretted that because of technical difficulties he does not enjoy his merited place in world literature.

If there is any sense in this war, it is the sense in all evil: its justification. And it justifies itself only by helping to make any repetition of war impossible once and for all. Men must create a life and a society healthy and strong enough to prevent any recurrence of this catastrophe.

It is the duty of literature to aid in creating this new life, this new society. This is a basic reason why literature must not

be destructive, purely analytical. It must seek paths of mutual assistance, it must work toward a synthesis.

Many may protest and accuse me of talking wildly. They will say that such a task is impossible, that wars will always recur, that they are an innate element of human nature, society, the earth, the universe.

But I am not concerned with what is possible or impossible at the moment. I am concerned with what *must be done*.

(1917)

THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

Otakar Březina, 1868-1929, was the founder of a school of mystical poetry. In the vigor of his language, the vividness of his visions and in his extraordinary creative discipline, he excelled by far all his disciples. So high was his conception of his poetic mission that from 1901 on he wrote no more, considering that his work was done. Much in this work is reminiscent of Walt Whitman; it is permeated with the spirit of mystical, all-embracing love and the universal brotherhood of mankind. He held himself aloof from all questions of the day, touching upon them only in the form of abstract meditations—of which two examples are given here. Part of his work has been translated into English by Paul Selver (Otakar Březina, A Study in Czech Literature, London, 1921).

It is no longer possible as it once was to strangle one's brethren unheard. Somebody will always hear their cry of agony and it will fly from mouth to mouth throughout the land like a hurricane blowing holy sparks of indignation into flames. Power with bloody claws may no longer rake the fertile earth and mangle its innocent victims. The mighty ones would tremble if they could see the map of our star as revealed to the ecstatic gaze of love. There they would seek in vain the frontiers of kingdoms and areas delimited by language. The heights from which the structure of continents and islands floating in the green mirrors of the oceans can be seen obliterate the white stones that mark the boundaries of meadows and vineyards. The whole countryside and the towns with their tropical bloom of delights and knowledge would appear to

them as one of the smallest of the spiritual places whence many paths go to all the visible and invisible realms of the universe, to those dizzy cities the aspect of which cannot be dreamed in the dreams of man. Mankind must realize that the existing government of states means a loss of the finest joys and a menace to the whole spiritual harvest of the earth. The seers gaze anxiously into the depths where the nations wallow in darkness. Among these masses doomed to labor and hunger there are dying, perhaps mute singers who might have rejoiced the heart by the intoxication of immortality. . . . In the garden of dreams, where all the echoes still recall the triumphant song of the spirits on creation's day, they might have plucked roses to strew in the path of lovers and heroes. The subterranean darkness may blind eyes which were created to see the most intimate smiles of beauty and the signs transmitted to us by the inhabitants of sister worlds. Is not spiritual thirst the joint possession of all nations, and should not its preservation be the one subject of conversation in the ranks of wise men and of kings? Do not all words of magnificence lie like a weight upon the breast of all humanity? Does not the torch of genius die out in the deadly atmosphere of pain that continuously wells up from the depths of quantity?

*

The silent revolt of the oppressed of all nations and the still more dangerous revolt of the highest spirits in the luminous retreats of knowledge . . . give to present hours the stirring intensity of great historical decisions. We feel that the day of judgment lies not in the future, but that it is the continuous present in the cosmos, that every hour is the judge of all hours, that each one of us is unwillingly the executor of justice in the life of people, the wife in the life of the husband, man in the fate of woman, and in the life of both the child which has come like a mysterious guest and taken its place at their table.

A PROPHECY COMES TRUE

Milan Rastislav Štefánik was the third member of the triumvirate made up of Masaryk and Beneš, who from their exile led the Czechoslovak movement for independence during the First World War. He lived from 1880 to 1919, meeting a tragic death in an airplane crash while he was returning from Italy to his native land, whose freedom he had helped to win by diplomatic as well as military activities. Štefánik had been an astronomer, and he had spent a good part of his life in France. While serving France he led several scientific expeditions, to Ecuador and Brazil. During the war he became a general in the French Army and organized the Czechoslovak Legions in France, Russia and Italy. In 1917 he successfully negotiated for the establishment of a Czechoslovak Legion in the United States. While he was in America he gave an interview to The World, a New York newspaper. It is this interview which we are reprinting here in an abbreviated form, for it is significant for Štefánik's prediction of a Second World War. Twenty years later, in the Fall of 1938, events at Munich unleashed the war which Štefánik had prophesied would take place unless the powers would bring the War of 1914 "to a perfectly definite end." By this Štefánik meant the final liquidation of the Pan-German danger. The danger was not eradicated; this warning, like many other Czechoslovak warnings, went unheeded, and Štefánik's prophecy has had its tragic fulfillment.

If you want this war to be the last war, you must make it come to a perfectly definite end. Otherwise it is but a matter of time before the old questions will raise their heads and cause a new and probably a worse war.

And the only way to reach that perfectly definite end, as President Wilson has said, is to establish the right of men of every nationality, great or small in numbers, to choose their rulers and their form of government.

If this war is to be the last war, there is one thing it must actually establish, and that is the right of every nation to a national life. There is one thing it must definitely end, and that is the Pan-German dream of the Teutons. Fire and water will not mix, and the right of non-Teutonic people to lead non-Teutonic lives must be admitted and defended. Specifically, the German *Drang nach Osten* must be effectively stopped.

Take the one case which I know very well, because I myself happen to be a Czechoslovak. Bohemia is my homeland, though my family lived in Paris and I grew up and did my work there. You did not know, perhaps, that the whole Czechoslovak nation is in open revolt against its long-standing oppressors, the Germans and the Magyars?

But Bohemia is in revolution, and it is one of the most touching revolutions in history. While other belligerent nations have been able to draw strength from the press, from the power of assembly and other analogous sources, the Czechoslovak nation was condemned to silence. There were Austrian prisons and gallows, and only occasionally was the silence broken by some outcry of anger and despair. Yet even these few voices were sufficient to alarm the whole nation and induce all Czechoslovaks to take their stand under the revolutionary banner . . .

The Czechoslovak has always been a peaceful, industrious, quiet-loving race, while the main traits of the Germans and Magyars are selfishness, violence and ambition. According to the Germans and Magyars the non-German and non-Magyar nations have a right to exist only so long as they remain the passive and obedient subjects of their exploitation . . .

You should note that more than 20 per cent of the Czechoslovaks emigrated to America. Why? Because in Austria-Hungary they could not enjoy the fruits of their labors. Germans and Magyars abounded in prosperity . . .

The Allied public knows little of the martyrdom of the Czechoslovak nation in this war. Its political leaders are in prison. Old men, and even men stricken with critical illness, were impressed into military service. Newspapers were suppressed. A revengeful Government ordered especially severe requisitions in the country, while its inhabitants were intentionally forgotten in the distribution of state aid. No nation ever revolted under more trying and difficult conditions.

But they did revolt, because of the political conditions I have outlined. And when history strikes a balance between the contributions of different nations in this war, the Czechoslovaks will have a very honorable place. It has meant a good deal to the Allies that in the very center of the hostile group there is heard a sound of ardent sympathy. But besides that, there has been a series of revolutionary acts. In Austria-Hungary this revolution created an atmosphere which had far-reaching effects on the political and strategic situation. Austria was put in fear of an actual military uprising. No small portion of its forces had to be retained for occupation of the Czechoslovak regions of the monarchy, and four German divisions also had to be assigned to the task of taming the revolters. But no precaution could prevent numerous and recurrent acts of sabotage . . .

Germany, seeing her naval routes always controlled and potentially always closed by some stronger naval power, desires to expand continually through Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, Asia Minor, India—to reach Pan-German world domination. This colossal scheme was thought out long ago to the remotest detail. It caused Germany to build the Berlin-Baghdad Railway artery, and conclude her alliances with the

Magyars, the Bulgars, and the Turks. And because in 1914 Germany felt powerful enough to cast aside her mask, the war started.

She found she was not so strong as she imagined, and now she is ready to talk peace. The Allies would be glad enough to talk peace too. The whole world wants peace. But what sort of peace shall it be? What of the future?

These are the days when the rest of the world must decide whether it can safely tolerate Pan-Germanism any longer . . . Shall this world be a safe place for democracy? Has a small nation as much right as a large one to live a national life? This war must settle those two questions. And the place where it must settle them is in Central Europe.

THE SLOVAK PROCLAMATION

The Slovak proclamation of October 30, 1918, was the most important of all the proclamations made by Slovak leaders towards the end of the First World War. This proclamation of the Slovak National Council formally announced the reunion of Slovakia with the Czech lands which together with Slovakia had formed, in the ninth century, the Greater Moravian Empire. The empire had fallen at the beginning of the eleventh century when the Magyars overran Slovakia, to hold it for almost a full thousand years, until 1918. Nevertheless, despite the most brutal oppression the conquerors did not succeed in denationalizing the Slovaks or in severing the political and cultural ties of the Slovaks with the Czechs. The best token of Czechoslovak cultural unity was the retaining of the Czech language as the literary tongue in Slovakia until after the first half of the nineteenth century. Later, during the World War, Czechoslovak political unity was confirmed by the collaboration of Slovak and Czech leaders within the Austrian Monarchy as well as in European lands and the United States. At the present time the military co-operation of Czechs and Slovaks in the Czechoslovak Army, fighting on the soil of Great Britain, parallels the work of the Czechoslovak Legions during the First World War.

The representatives of all Slovak political parties, assembled on October 30, 1918, at Turčianský Sv. Martin, and organized as the National Council of the Slovak branch of the unified Czechoslovak nation, insist upon the right of self-determination of nations, which has been accepted by the entire world. The National Council declares that it is the only organization entitled to speak and act in the name of that part of the

Czechoslovak nation which lives within the borders of Hungary.

The Hungarian government is not entitled to be our spokesman. For decades its most urgent task was to suppress everything Slovak; it did not grant to our nation a single school, did not permit the Slovak people to be employed in public office and administration. It materially destroyed and exploited our people by its medieval feudal system and policy . . .

The National Council of the Czechoslovak nation living in Hungary hereby declares:

1. Linguistically, historically and culturally the Slovak people are part of the Czechoslovak nation. In all cultural struggles which were waged by the Czech people and earned them universal fame, the Slovak branch has collaborated and taken its part.
2. For this Czechoslovak nation we also demand the unlimited right of self-determination on the basis of complete independence. Based upon this principle, we give our consent to this newly created international status which on October 18 was formulated by President Wilson, and which on October 27, 1918 was recognized by the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. We demand the immediate conclusion of a peace based on humane and Christian principles, so that the peace may be such as to make impossible by guarantees of international law a further war and further arming of the nations.

CZECHOSLOVAKS AND POLES

During the First World War, the leaders of the Czechoslovak movement abroad, Masaryk, Štefánik and Beneš, worked very closely together with the Polish national movement, led by Ignace Paderewski and Roman Dmowski. The following document stems from that co-operation. It bears witness to the sincere joy with which Czechoslovakia greeted the restoration of Polish independence. The document is a message from the Czechoslovak Government abroad, dated November 13, 1918, and it is signed in the name of the Czechoslovak Government by a man who was most energetic in promoting Polish-Czechoslovak co-operation, the then Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, Dr. Edvard Beneš.

The Czechoslovak nation, as well as its army, deeply touched by the participation of the brotherly Polish nation in the establishment of the first government of the Czechoslovak Republic, begs the renowned Polish National Committee to accept its fervent thanks.

The government of Czechoslovakia, having given heed in Geneva to the report of the Czechoslovak National Council in Prague that the closest friendship and alliance is developing in our countries between the deputies of the Polish nation and the Czechoslovak nation, rejoices in the sanction accorded this friendship and alliance which has always been cultivated in foreign lands between the renowned Polish National Council and the Czechoslovak National Council.

The government of Czechoslovakia hopes that this friend-

ship of both nations will be consecrated further by a common course of action in the political life of our nations on the sacred soil of these nations, on the sacred soil of our liberated homelands.

The government of Czechoslovakia is convinced that soon representatives of the Czechoslovak nation will be able to greet the government of the united Polish nation in Warsaw just as cordially as the Polish National Council greeted the government of the Czechoslovak nation recently in Paris.

THE WASHINGTON DECLARATION

On October 16, 1918, at a time when Germany and Austria-Hungary had already lost the war, Charles V, the Emperor of Austria, issued a manifesto offering in equivocal and half-hearted terms to federalize the Monarchy—a move for which the Czechoslovak nation had labored in vain for half a century. Vienna snatched at this idea as her last straw. Though a military defeat was imminent, she wished by this ruse to save herself from a complete political defeat. However, it was clear to the whole world that this impulsive, wavering and insincere manifesto had come too late and consequently the world was little impressed by it.

The Czechoslovak movement for independence, working outside its native land, replied to this manifesto of Charles by proclaiming Czechoslovak independence. The document making this declaration is called the Washington Declaration because, on October 18, Masaryk presented it to President Wilson in Washington. The Declaration was signed by T. G. Masaryk in the capacity of Minister of Finances and President of the Provisional Czechoslovak Government; M. R. Štefánik, Minister of War; and Edvard Beneš, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior.

At this grave moment when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the Allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Habsburgs are promising the federalization of the empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the Allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the

Czechoslovak State and Nation, in complete accord with the Declaration of the Czech Deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization, and, still more, autonomy mean nothing under a Habsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty which they do not recognize and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Habsburg mock-federation which is only a new form of the denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past three hundred years. We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the FREE nations of Central and Eastern Europe may easily federate, should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh century and in 1526, as an independent State consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger. We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Habsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally trespassing on our rights and violating the Constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold. We therefore refuse to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the

Habsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian Dualistic Compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority. It is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the Monarchy. The world knows the history of our claims, which the Habsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition; and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany. As Germany's vanguard to the East, she provoked the last Balkan conflict as well as the present World War which was begun by the Habsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

We cannot and will not continue to live under the rule, direct or indirect, of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Rumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world-organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Habsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin. We refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Habsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own

free will, and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Habsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czechoslovak Land which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of The Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars five hundred years ago; for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak nation. The final decision as to the Constitution itself falls to the legally chosen representatives of our liberated and united people.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a Republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition. The Church shall be separated from the State.

Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage. Women shall be placed on an equal footing with men politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principle of initiative

and referendum. The standing army shall be replaced by militia.

The Czechoslovak nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished.

Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts for this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czechoslovak nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of Eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationalism and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our Constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism has been overcome—democracy is victorious. On the basis of democracy, mankind will be reorganized. The forces of darkness have prepared the victory of light—the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy, we believe in liberty, liberty forevermore!

THE CZECHOSLOVAK CONSTITUTION

The provisional Czechoslovak Constitution was adopted on November 13, 1918, by the National Constitutional Assembly. On March 29, 1920, the regular National Assembly adopted the final form of the Constitution, in which all the democratic principles of the Washington Declaration were retained. The spirit of the Czechoslovak Constitution is characterized by the Preamble, quoted here, which took as its model the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States.

We, the Czechoslovak nation, desiring to consolidate the perfect unity of our people, to establish the reign of justice in this Republic, to assure the peaceful development of our native Czechoslovak land, to contribute to the common welfare of all the citizens of this State and to secure the blessings of freedom to coming generations, have in our National Assembly this 29th day of February 1920 adopted the following Constitution for the Czechoslovak Republic; and in doing so we declare that it will be our endeavor to see that this Constitution together with all the laws of our land be carried out in the spirit of our history as well as in the spirit of those modern principles embodied in the idea of self-determination, for we desire to take our place in the Family of Nations as a member at once cultured, peace-loving, democratic and progressive.

CZECHOSLOVAK LEGIONS

In the following selection, the Czech poet, Rudolf Medek, gives us some insight into the activity of the Czechoslovak Legions during the First World War. Medek was himself a member of one of the Legions, and later became a general in the Czechoslovak Army. The extract is from his book, The Czechoslovak Anabasis Across Russia and Siberia, which was published in London in 1929. The author died in 1940 in a German concentration camp.

The Czechoslovak Army in Russia, exhausted by incessant fighting, without reserves and assistance, nevertheless defended the Siberian Railway throughout 1919 and the greater part of 1920. It had well earned the right not only to rest but also to return to its now liberated motherland which was yearning for her sons. This was still more the case when it became clear that the Allies inclined more and more strongly to the principle that Russia was to be left to herself, that is to say, to her fate. The peculiar psychological conditions in Russia and Siberia began to tell on foreign armies unused to the stifling and chaotic atmosphere of a war which after all was a civil war. The Czechoslovaks alone did not succumb to this disintegration. Seeing the hopelessness of further action in Russia they too set out for home. Their way took them across seas and continents, around the world to Central Europe, from the port of Vladivostok to European ports. The ships of the Allies which took the Czechoslovaks from Siberia sailed round India and through the Suez Canal to Mediterranean or

138

Adriatic ports, or took the route to the coasts of America and across the Atlantic. After hard struggles, 70,000 Czechoslovak Legionaries returned to their motherland. These sons of a small nation prepared to sacrifice all for its freedom had proved their mettle.

THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK

It is unnecessary to identify Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, especially to the Anglo-Saxon world with which he never lost touch. His life, spanning the years from 1850 to 1937, encompassed the period of manifold ups and downs in the destiny of Czechoslovakia. The most memorable phase of Masaryk's life began at the age of sixty-five, when after a life full of struggle for his nation and at a time of life when others retire weary and broken, he began on the most glorious and fruitful task he had yet assumed. Risking his life and his career, leaving the family he loved so well, he departed from his native soil and like an exile sought foreign lands, where he entered upon the greatest battle he had yet known. From this struggle Masaryk emerged victorious, a man of seventy years. Yet, full of vigor, he continued to serve his country for seventeen years more as president, an office to which he was always re-elected by overwhelming majorities. Even during his lifetime he became a legend to his people. There is no doubt that in the annals of history his life will shine as one of the most worthy and harmonious lives Fate ever granted to any man.

Because of Masaryk's extensive writings, the arrangement of extracts has presented considerable difficulty. To present them in relevant order, we are obliged to forego our ordinary arrangement by chronological order. Therefore, we are placing all of his writings into the section devoted to that era which was most momentous for Masaryk himself. This era marked the rebirth of the Czechoslovak State, which after so many centuries of subjugation proclaimed its independence on October 28, 1918. The first two contributions date from the year 1895. The one entitled The Meaning of the Czech Reformation is taken from the famous speech at Geneva in which Masaryk, on July 4,

1915, the eve of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Jan Huss, declared war on the Austrian Monarchy. The last two contributions are taken from the work, The New Europe, which was published in 1918 in London for private circulation. The foreword to this book was written by Masaryk in October, 1918, in Washington, D. C. While both of these contributions are longer than others in the book, we include them uncut, for they deal with questions which today are burningly urgent. In them Masaryk expressed his political faith, a faith which was and still is upheld by the Czechoslovak nation, in spite of German occupation and in spite of the suppression of many of Masaryk's writings.

THE MEANING OF CZECH HISTORY

The entire meaning of our history is contained in a humanitarian aim morally and rationally conceived. Pure humanity must not remain a mere renaissance slogan. Like Dobrovský Kollár, Palacký, Havlíček, each and every one of us must strive for humanity, our national goal and program, which must necessarily also guide our national tactics.

Are we not compelled by our earlier history and by the present trend of the times to determine unequivocally how we are to maintain ourselves as a self-reliant and independent nation? Does not our entire evolution force us to consider how a small nation can maintain itself?

This problem tormented our founder Dobrovský, it tormented Kollár, all of whose efforts were directed towards escaping from the limitations of size imposed upon our country by nature. His thought was taken up by Palacký who developed Kollár's cultural problem into a political one. And of course he could find no new answer to the problem of how a small nation can maintain itself. For in the final analysis, even politics, like any other practice, must have a theoretical basis. But if humanity is the goal of all thought, it must be the goal of all striving as well. Humanity is achieved only by humane means—an enlightened head and a warm heart.

When we recall our numerous struggles for existence in the past, such as our uprising at the White Mountain, which ended in defeat; our fall; our rebirth during the French Revolution and the enlightenment of the eighteenth century; the Revolution of 1848; the Polish Rebellion, we, as thinking Czechs, are forced to decide: shall we choose violence or peace, the sword or the plow, blood or labor in the sweat of our brow, death or life?

Not violence but peace, not the sword but the plow, not blood but work, not death but life for the sake of life; this shall be the answer of the Czech spirit, this is the meaning of our history and the bequest of our great forebears . . .

(1895)

THE REBIRTH OF THE CZECHS AS A TRANSFORMATION OF LIFE

Those who roused our nation from its long sleep realized that a small nation can maintain itself only by exploiting all cultural achievements and that it will maintain itself only by humanity. This is the meaning of our rebirth as well as the meaning of our past.

To continue our efforts in behalf of the nation is therefore to do everything in our power for the values dearest to all nations. To become the cultural and moral vanguard of humanity is our ideal. That we shall cultivate and perfect our language at the same time goes without saying . . .

A certain blindness toward the cultural abundance which our nation must now seek to assimilate makes for the one-sided conception of our rebirth and our past so rampant today. I find the narrow, abstract variety of nationalism to be one-sided in this way. This does not mean that the national principle should be abandoned or neglected (it is really disgraceful that I should have to make this point for the benefit of a certain

section of our press). It means that this principle should be given a fuller and deeper content and significance.

Whoever looks upon the situation in this way will not regard our rebirth as a miracle. Therefore, and this is most important, he will not wait for more miracles but will instead devote all his efforts to carrying on the work of our founders. For he will realize that we have been resurrected together with the other nations and that this renaissance of ours is synonymous with a new contest into which we have entered. It is a contest with the other nations and particularly with the one closest to us politically and geographically, the German nation, as to which shall excel in cultural achievement. (1895)

THE MEANING OF THE CZECH REFORMATION

Our national life derives its meaning from our Reformation. Every conscious Czech finds his national ideal in the history of our Reformation.

It has been said that history is a judge, a teacher. History is above all a duty. Every Czech aware of the history of his people must take sides, either for the Reformation or against it; for the Czech principle or for the principle of Austria, which is the organ of European counter-reformation and reaction.

Huss, Žižka, Chelčický, Komenský are our living program. Our Reformation, like every other Reformation, never was finished. Reformation means constant reform, constant renewal. It means striving for improvement, progress, perfection.

The Czech Reformation was above all a moral one. That is why it withstood the church and thereby also the state. For in the Middle Ages church and state formed a theocratic entity. Our Reformation led to political revolution. Every logical and honest moral effort necessarily leads to reform and from there to political and social revolution.

The Czech Reformation was the first time the entire nation concerned itself with the problem of authority in the modern sense and attempted its solution. Today the same problem must be dealt with. This problem permits no delay and must be solved at all costs.

Our Reformation is based upon the principle of humanity. Brotherhood was the name as well as the ideal of our national church, the Church of Czech Brethren.

In the name of humanity and fraternity Petr Chelčický opposes his conception of non-resistance to the ideas of Žižka, the founder of modern warfare. All the world is familiar with this doctrine in the new form it was given by Tolstoy, who was surprised to find it already advanced by Chelčický.

But the principle of purest humanity does not and cannot forbid resistance. Our very Reformation stated clearly and definitely that self-defense is not the same as violence.

Our Reformation rules as follows: we condemn violence and will not use it. But we shall defend ourselves against violence, even with the sword.

Palacký rightly proves that the Hussites defended themselves against the violence which had been unleashed against them.

The character and the moral value of every action are determined by its motive. In every conflict, in every war it is important to know who is doing violence and who is defending himself.

That is why this question is being considered with so much interest and attention today.

"Hold fast to the truth ye have found . . . defend the truth until death." is the great teaching of Huss and of his life. Today we are paying homage to a martyr. But we hope, and we will try with all our strength to make sure that there will be no more martyrs.

Havlíček, a devoted admirer of Huss, said: "Formerly men

died for the honor and glory of the nation. We shall live and work for it."

The ideal of humanity demands life, a full, positive life, not death.

Death will retreat before life.

This hope, this task is the legacy of the Czech Reformation.
(1915)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATE FOR THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE

In the literature of Pan-Germanism much attention is paid to the Czech question; and the Pan-German politicians are totally hostile to the Czechs and Slovaks, as the views of all of them from Lagarde to Winterstetten prove. Mommsen formulated the Pan-German aims when he harangued his countrymen to break the Czech's hard skulls. Therefore we Czechs watched carefully the development of German politics and especially the Pan-German plan of Central Europe, and when the decisive moment came we took our stand against this plan.

The geographical location of Bohemia and Slovakia in the very center of Europe gives to our nation a significant position; Bismarck said that "the master of Bohemia is the master of Europe." The Pan-German politicians often quote this statement of Bismarck's. Bohemia, together with Slovakia, interferes with the Berlin-Baghdad plan; the shortest road from Berlin to Constantinople, to Salonika and Trieste leads through Prague or through Bohumín (Oderberg) to Vienna and Budapest. Also, the shortest route from Berlin is by way of Prague and Bohumín. Bohemia and Slovakia block the direct route between Prussia, Austria and Hungary.

The Czechs constitute the westernmost wedge driven into the German body; they constitute the furthest point West in the zone of the small nations; they are the western outpost of

the non-German nations in the East. The Czechoslovaks are not a Slav remnant like the Lusatians, for they have held their own against German aggression toward the East for more than a thousand years. The Czechs have opposed the Germans from the seventh century, when their state was founded, up to the present day. The Slavs of the Elbe and Saal basins and of the Baltic shores have been Germanized or exterminated. The Czechs have maintained their individuality. To be sure, they are surrounded by the Germans on three sides. Toward the South they border on the Magyars. Only in the East they border on the Poles and the Ukrainians; a very difficult position in a world of national struggles, resembling the German position of which the Pan-Germans so loudly complain.

The Czechoslovak nation has from its very beginning manifested considerable strength in opposing Germany and Austria. The first Czech State (Samo in the seventh century) reached as far south as the territory of the Slovenes, and a great Moravian Empire also reached as far south as the Serbocroat lands. Later the Czech State actually passed through a period of something like imperialism.

Bohemia did not unite with Austria and Hungary until 1526, when a personal union was formed. From the seventh to the sixteenth century, for a full thousand years, it constituted an independent State. The union with Austria and Hungary was brought about by the Turkish danger; all three States had a common dynasty, otherwise remaining independent. But it is well to emphasize that Hungary in 1526 was overrun by the Turks. Only Slovakia remained free and in the union. Hungary had to be reconquered from the Turks by the united efforts of Bohemia, Slovakia and Austria, which was accomplished after a struggle of nearly two hundred years.

The development of the Bohemian-Austrian-Hungarian union makes a very interesting and instructive story, if we study how the mighty position of the dynasty as judged by

medieval standards and reflecting the glory of the Roman Empire, led to absolutist centralization, and total Germanization. It has already been pointed out that it is incorrect to look upon Austria as an illustration of the principle that small nations and states must necessarily federate. The principle of federation was betrayed by Austria.

Legally, Bohemia is still an independent state. The union with Austria and Hungary in 1526 gave it only a common sovereign. The Habsburgs, as Bohemian kings, strengthened absolutism according to the Spanish example in the administrative sphere, but they did not dare to change the legal basis of the compact concluded between the kingdom and the dynasty. (The estates were at that time the representatives of the nation, and remained such until 1848.) The Bohemian State became absolutist, but remained an autonomous, independent state. The Habsburgs lent themselves as a tool to the counter-reformation. The Hussite movement was suppressed with the assistance of all Europe. The revolution of Protestant Bohemia in 1618 was overcome, and the Emperor, with his German councilors, endeavored in every way to weaken the Bohemian lands. For this purpose they staged a unique economic revolution: 30,000 families (among them Comenius) were exiled from the country, and four-fifths of the land was confiscated and used to reward military adventurers and noblemen who gathered from all Europe like vultures and divided the Bohemian booty. A large part of the Bohemian property was taken by the Emperor himself. The people were made Catholic with the help of the dragoons and Jesuits. But the national consciousness was not extinguished; the spirit of opposition was not broken—the peasants of Moravia fought against the imperial army as late as 1775.

Maria Theresa and Joseph II were the first rulers who dared to establish governmental departments. But it was Joseph who in addition provoked a strong national movement

and political opposition in Bohemia as well as in Hungary. After the Proclamation of the Austrian Empire (1804) which established absolutist unification, the opposition in Bohemia grew until, finally, the Revolution of 1848 compelled Ferdinand to declare a partial restoration of the Bohemian constitution and independence. Bach's absolutism introduced centralization once more. At the beginning of the constitutional era, made necessary by the defeat of 1859, Emperor Francis Joseph vacillated between centralization and federalization, but leaned more and more toward centralization. In 1861 he promised the Czechs, with whom the Germans of Bohemia were at that time in accord, that he would be crowned King of Bohemia. In the same year he promised a Slovak delegation freedom and support against the Magyars.

But these promises were never fulfilled. The defeat of 1866 compelled the dynasty to grant concessions, but only such concessions as would weaken absolutism the least. The Emperor reached an agreement in 1867 with Hungary, or rather, with the Magyars, by which he granted hegemony to the Germans in Austria and to the Magyars in Hungary. The Czechs formed a radical constitutional opposition. With their well-known passive resistance they boycotted the Central Parliament. Emperor Francis Joseph took a personal part in this struggle, trying to crush the opposition by force and by the grossest violation of law, but in vain. And so he made an attempt to reach an agreement with the Czechs. He twice issued a rescript to the Bohemian Diet (1870-1871), in which he promised that he would assume the Bohemian Crown, and in which he recognized the historical rights of the Bohemian State. But the Magyars and Prussians, as was recently confirmed by the Hungarian Premier Eszterhazy, prevented the consummation of the agreement. Again the Czech nation fought against Vienna, until, in 1879, the fight ended in a compromise which guaranteed the Czechs certain cultural and national concessions (for instance,

148

the University), but the struggle for the rights of the Bohemian State was not settled. The Czechs did not recognize the centralistic constitution of Austria, and took part in the work of the Central Parliament only with reservation of their state rights.

Such is the state of things even today. Austria, transformed into the dual state of Austria-Hungary, represents the organized violence of the German minority in Austria and the Magyar minority in Hungary. From the legal point of view, dualism is disloyalty, and actually a conspiracy of the dynasty with the Germans and Magyars against the Czechs. Austria came into existence by the union of not merely Austria and Hungary but of the two States with the Bohemian State. As a matter of fact, the Czechs are just as fully entitled to independence as the Magyars; more so, in fact, for when Bohemia united with Austria in 1526, Hungary was overrun by the Turks. Only Slovakia was free. In a letter to Helfi, editor of the Magyar paper, *Magyar Ujsag*, dated November 8, 1871, Louis Kossuth made the following statement: "Between the legal titles upon which the right of the dynasty to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia are founded, there is not merely an analogy but a complete identity. That is true of their origin and time, approach, conditions and principles, as well as their literal wording. The Bohemian land is not a patrimonium, a so-called hereditary land, a mere appendage of Austria, but a land which may appeal to diplomatic negotiations and mutual agreements. It is a State just like Hungary. . . ."

The Czechs will not be satisfied with the concession of national autonomy within an Austrian federation. They have a historical right to the independence of the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia); they insist on their right to the independence of the State created by them. In addition to that, they have a historical and natural right to union with Slovakia, so brutally oppressed by the Magyars. (The Mag-

yars have a proverb: *Tot nem ember*—the Slovak is not a man.) Slovakia, formerly the center of the Great Moravian Empire, was torn away by the Magyars in the tenth century, and was later for a short time united again politically with its kinsmen. For a time it was independent. Culturally the Slovaks constantly maintained close relations with the Czechs . . .

The Slovaks gave the Czechs in the period of their national renaissance a number of great authors (Kollár, Šafařík), and educated others (Palacký and, in a measure, also Dobrovský). The Magyars, though weaker culturally than the Slovaks, attempt to Magyarize the latter systematically and brutally. This Magyarization was not the natural result of a cultural preponderance, but was artificially maintained by the administration, which resorted to violence and corruption, exploiting economic advantages. It is known that the Slovak and also the Rumanian elections to Parliament end in pitched battles in which non-Magyar electors are simply shot down. That is the reason why the Hungarian Parliament is Magyar though the majority of the population is non-Magyar.

The Slovak language is an archaic dialect of the Czech; the difference lies only in the archaic forms and in a few additional words. The Slovak language has the same accent as the Czech and the accent is the distinguishing mark of Slavic tongues. Polish, Russian and Yugoslav languages have each a different accent. Slovak was introduced as a literary language at the end of the eighteenth century, at the time of the national renaissance of the Czechs and Slovaks. The popular spoken language appealed to the people more than the written Czech which remained the language of the Slovak Lutheran Church. Among the Czech and Slovak literary men there arose a sharp dispute about the use of the Slovak. Some Slovaks themselves, for instance Kollár and Šafařík, were opposed to it. Today, these disputes have practically ceased, there being no language question for the younger generation on either side. The

unity of the nation and state is in no way menaced by the use of Slovak. . . .

The independence of the Czechoslovak State is a demand of political justice. By its geographical location in the center of Europe and by its century-long struggle against the Germans' "Push toward the East," the Czech and Slovak nation is the anti-German vanguard of all the nations in Eastern Europe. Should the Czechoslovak nation remain under the sway of the Germans and Asiatic peoples allied with Germany, like the Magyars and Turks, and should it actually fall, Pan-German Central Europe and its further political consequences will be realized. The Czechoslovak question is a world question and is the problem of this very war: free Bohemia or reactionary Austria, the free Czechoslovak nation or the degenerate Habsburgs—that is the choice for Europe and America, for a thinking Europe and America.

Her geographical position in the center of Europe and her historical antagonism to oppressive Germanism and Pan-Germanism secures to Bohemia that great political significance recognized since by the Allies. And it is in the interest of the Allies to liberate Bohemia if Prussian militarism and the German lust for domination are to be crushed and the Pan-German plan of Berlin-Cairo and Berlin-Baghdad are to be frustrated. The Allies' plan, like that of the enemy, is a far-reaching program. The war with its consequences is the greatest event in human history. The Napoleonic wars, the Thirty Years' War, the Crusades—all these were child's play compared with this war. Realistic politicians and statesmen must grasp the inner meaning of German and European history; they must comprehend the direction in which history is pointing, and what Europe's aims and objectives can and must be.

I do not maintain that the liberation of Bohemia is the most vital question of the war. But I can say without exaggeration that the aims proclaimed by the Allies cannot be attained with-

out the liberation of Bohemia. Her future will be the touchstone of the Allies' strength, sincerity and statesmanship.
(1918)

THE PROBLEM OF SMALL NATIONS AND STATES.

THE FEDERATION OF SMALL NATIONS

The definition and significance of Great Powers has changed much in recent years. Fewer Great Powers are now recognized, old ones step aside, new ones take their places. The standard of greatness has become relative to the growth of the population. The Pan-Germanists recognize only three, at most four, Great Powers in Europe—Germany, Russia, Great Britain, and perhaps France; many will not recognize even France as a Great Power. Those who emphasize the previously mentioned natural weaknesses of Russia (the contrast of the inadequate population with the vast uncultivated territory, etc.) speak only of two Great Powers, Germany and Great Britain; from this point of view frequently Germany is declared to be the Great Power par excellence, and therefore the natural and predestined master of Europe and the world.

The Pan-Germanists appeal to history, claiming that evolution leads to the organization of great non-national, mixed states. There have even been writers who declare mixed states to be a higher type than purely national states. The German Social-Democrats here agree with the Pan-Germanists on the ground that greater territories are needed to accomplish the economic and social reforms of Marxian Socialism. In general, the public political opinion of Europe favors great states. The watchword is imperialism. Smaller states and nations are spoken of with pity or a sort of contempt. The German view of a state as a power was formulated by Treitschke when he said that there is something ridiculous in the idea of a small state.

Let us see what history tells us. Now and then, great na-

tionally mixed states have been organized. The last attempt was made by Napoleon. Before him there was the medieval empire, the Franks, Rome, Byzantium, etc., as we go backward. All these empires perished, and out of them arose smaller states. The medieval empire was a peculiar alliance of various states and the church, and in general the composition of these great empires varied greatly. On the whole, great multinational empires are an institution of the past, of a time when material force was held high and the principle of nationality had not been recognized, because democracy had not been recognized. Great multinational empires and autocracy are almost synonymous.

History teaches that some new great states arose by the union of smaller states of the same nationality—Germany, Italy. The growth of these states is something very different from the subjugation of various nations by one nation.

History also teaches that in modern times alongside of the few greater states arising through national unification, there arose many more small states. Since the end of the eighteenth century we witnessed the birth of Belgium, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Norway, Albania, the reorganization of Switzerland. Non-national Great Powers are decaying. Turkey has fallen; just now the greatly mixed Russia is already dismembered, giving rise to smaller and small states; and non-national Austria-Hungary is following her example.

History teaches that evolution very decidedly favors the rise of smaller national states. Out of twenty-seven states in Europe, only Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, England, France and Italy may be accepted as large states; the others, therefore a great majority, are smaller, either of moderate size like Spain or small like Denmark, Montenegro, etc. The assertion of the Pan-Germanists and Marxists is quite patently not justified.

Quite erroneous is the identification of imperialism with

capitalism as the Marxists make it. Great empires arose before modern capitalism, and imperialistic and aggressive designs cannot be traced merely to financial and economic motives.

The modern state, having far more complicated needs than the older state, needs a great deal of money. To express it briefly: the citizen is obliged, in addition to his home and private needs, to give up a considerable part of his income and earnings to the administration of the state. All countries are not equally rich and fertile, do not possess equally favorable geographical locations or equally good neighbors. So it is natural that the smaller, poorer states and nations (whether by nature or by their degree of economic and cultural development) cannot give their citizens all the advantages which may be found in the richer and larger states. But where is it written that all nations must be equally rich or that they must be equal in general?

A small nation may intensify all its work and thereby make up to a large extent its lack of numbers; a large nation proceeds in all its activities on a more extensive scale. One may compare it to the economic exertions as between the owner of a small piece of land and one who is the owner of a great estate. Therefore in the large states individual parts claim various forms of autonomy against centralization.

The adversaries of small nations and states emphasize that small states do not prosper, not merely from the economic and military point of view but also in the matter of culture. The small nation is said to have petty and stunted ideas and ideals. This claim must be settled by carefully ascertaining the facts and clearing up the concepts. Let us, for example, take the Czechs. A nation far smaller than the Germans (the figures now are about 10 to 80), it managed to hold its own against the strong German pressure for centuries and continues to do so down to this day, although the Slavs who settled further west and north have been Germanized. Politically Bohemia

occupied an important place in the family of nations and for a time even played imperialistic politics, having incorporated German-Austria with Vienna and even Brandenburg, where Berlin lies today. Culturally Bohemia was eminent as early as the fourteenth century; and the Czechs were the first to break the authority of the medieval theocracy and to open the new era by their Reformation; the names of Žižka, Huss, Chelčický and Comenius are among the greatest. When they had been beaten by the united effort of all Europe, the Czechs, after merely existing for two hundred years, roused themselves at the end of the eighteenth century to a new cultural life. The renaissance of the Czechoslovak nation is proof of a strong national vitality. Why, therefore, and by what right do the Pan-Germanists deny the Czechs and Slovaks independence? The present-day great nations laid the foundations of their own culture at a time when they were smaller or as small as we. It is especially significant that in former days there did not exist the modern methods of communication, industry, and the like, which are said to be necessary for the development of an up-to-date culture. But these advantages are now just as accessible to the small nations as to the great. Dante, Shakespeare, Molière, and others lived in the days of small things. And Jesus and His followers grew up in a small remote Asian region. Just like the Czech nation grew the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, and their like, proving that cultural accomplishments cannot be measured merely by square miles of territory or statistical figures.

A more exact analysis and comparison of great and small nations would have to take into account the natural endowment and capacity of the various nations. In that respect the intensive effort of many small nations is evidence of a considerable natural endowment. A small nation defending itself against a large nation thinks far more intensively than its great neighbor, who relies more on his numerical superiority.

The current opinion of the cultural level and accomplishment of the various nations is very inexact and unscientific. (According to measurements of even German anthropologists the Czechs and, I believe, the Croatians show the highest skull and brain index.)

The opponents of small states and nations point to Austria as the classic demonstration that small nations must unite themselves into larger federated bodies, and as a proof that they cannot maintain their independence.

It is true that the Turkish danger brought about in 1526 the union of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary; but it is equally true that the Austrian Habsburgs very soon abused the free union and oppressed both Bohemia and Hungary. The Habsburgs became the right arm of the threatened theocracy and with the help of the Empire and Europe crushed Bohemia and her Hussite Revolution. With blood and iron and Jesuitism the Habsburgs in 1618 crushed the Czech Revolution and culture. The whole history of Austria and her efforts for a unified, centralized and Germanized state is proof and example of dynastic domination, but of no federation of nations. Austria was a federation only as long as it was the union of three free states; Austria-Hungary of today is not a federation of small nations. Such a federation can be found only in the writings of weak-minded courtier-historians and politicians. Austria-Hungary is the organized oppression of the majority by the minority. Austria-Hungary is the continuation of medieval dynastic absolutism.

The Dual Monarchy is composed of nine nations: Germans, Czechs and Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Serbo-Croats, Slovenes, Rumanians, Italians, Magyars. Some count the Slovaks as a separate nation; the Latins in the Tirol are a separate nation; and some of the Jews claim their own nationality. In all other nationally mixed states, even in Russia, the so-called ruling nation is in the majority. What is Austria? A dynasty

156

with an aristocracy, an army and its higher officers, an upper bureaucracy, and the church furnishing the necessary spiritual police. Mickiewicz properly compares this anti-national state to the East India Company, in which 200 families exploit the nations.

Turkey also was a "federation" of nations—and she fell; with Turkey will fall also the anomaly of Austria, as Mazzini correctly foretold.

A real federation of nations will exist only when the nations are free to unite of their own accord. The development of Europe points to that end. The program of the Allies answers fully to this development: free and liberated nations will organize themselves as they find necessary into greater units, and thus the whole continent will be organized. Should there be federations of smaller states, they will be federations freely entered upon out of the real needs of the nations, not out of dynastic and imperialistic motives. Federation without freedom is impossible; that must be emphatically stated to those Austrian and other politicians who are promising autonomy and federation. We have now three examples of federated states, and in all three instances they are free independent states that have become federated: Switzerland, America, and even Germany. Switzerland and America are republics, Germany is a monarchy, but her individual states are independent. Do the Habsburgs want a real federation of independent states and nations? Surely not; in any case the Germans threatened that they would not permit a federalization of Austria.

According to the program of the Allies, the small nations and states shall be treated with the same respect politically and socially as the great nations and states. A small nation, an enlightened and culturally progressive nation is just as much of a full-fledged unit and cultural individual as a great nation. The problem of small nations and states is the same as the problem of the so-called little man: what matters is that the

value of the man, the individuality of the man, is recognized without regard to his material means. This is the proper sense and kernel of the great humanitarian movement which characterizes modern times, as manifested in socialism, democracy and nationalism. The modern humanism recognizes the right of the weak; that is the meaning of all efforts for progress and for the recognition of human dignity. The strong will always help himself—the protection of the weaker and the weak, the protection of the small, of the individual, of unions and classes, of nations and states is the task of modern times. Everywhere the weak, oppressed and exploited unite. Association is the watchword of our era; federation, the free federation of small nations and states will be the consummation of this principle securing the final organization of the whole of mankind.

(1918)

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF SLOVAKIA

Milan Hodža, born in 1878, was engaged even before the First World War in the struggle for the liberation of the Slovaks against Hungarian oppression. Between 1918 and 1938 he was, as Minister of Education and Agriculture, a member of various Czechoslovak Cabinets, and in the last years before Munich he served as Premier. The article quoted here has been taken from a longer study in Slovakia Then and Now, London, 1931.

Though Slovakia belonged to Hungary for many long centuries, her national tradition is none the less rooted in moral and cultural community with the Czechs. In the ninth century Slovakia constituted the center of the first Czechoslovak state; since 1025 she has been an integral part of Hungary. But during this long period of separation, relations between Slovaks and Czechs naturally did not cease. The feudal lords of Slovakia, as early as the fourteenth century, often found allies in Bohemia when they resisted the Hungarian Kings. In the fifteenth century the Czech Hussites more than once invaded Slovakia and generally had the Slovaks on their side. The unity of language, which showed only trifling dialectal differences, was a strong link between them. Czech Protestantism, represented by the Austrian counter-reformation, took refuge in Slovakia. Here the Protestants had over thirty printing presses at their disposal, and carried on a vigorous propa-

ganda. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even during the first decades of the nineteenth, there were often more Czechoslovak writings published on Slovak than on Czech soil. The first Czech grammarian of note, Šafařík, and several of the great figures in the Czech renaissance, came from Slovakia. . . .

The beginning of the nineteenth century was for Central and Eastern Europe the great period of the rise of racial self-consciousness and its expression in formal national programs. Among the Czechs the great scholar Dobrovský was just completing his scientific studies, when two Slovaks, Jan Kollár and Paul Joseph Šafařík, set about laying the foundations of Czechoslovak and, in a more general sense, of Slav civilization. . . .

We certainly have every reason for pride and satisfaction when we consider that within a very few months after the Revolution of 1918, Slovakia, which had for so long been subjected to systematic and intensive Magyarization, became Slovak once more and was capable, with Czech help, of establishing her own administration, courts, etc. No more startling demonstration of the artificiality of Magyar policy can well be imagined. . . .

A comparison of conditions in Slovakia under the Magyars and the Czechoslovak regime reveals many grounds for keen satisfaction. Formerly a colony of a few hundred landowners and a handful of capitalists from Budapest and Vienna, Slovakia is today a province with a strong individuality of its own, and its steady progress is firmly rooted in the work and enthusiasm of the vast majority of its three million inhabitants. . . .

MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dr. Kamil Krofta, one of the most eminent Czechoslovak historians and diplomats, was born in 1876. From 1911 on he was professor at the Charles University in Prague, and in 1920 he entered the service of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. Later, he became Czechoslovak envoy to the Vatican, as well as to Vienna and Berlin. From 1935 to 1938 he was Czechoslovak Foreign Minister. As a historian he specialized in the religious history of Bohemia, in particular the period of the Czech Reformation. He was often the spokesman of the Government in matters relating to the national minorities. Both of the speeches from which extracts are quoted here were delivered in 1936 before an audience of German citizens of the Czechoslovak State.

The Czechoslovak Republic with its institutions was created by its Czech and Slovak citizens. This republic has grown out of the ancient Bohemian state which overcame all the powerful German influences brought to bear upon it and remained in essence the state of the Czechoslovak nation. In the old days the Bohemian state served to express the vitality and fulfill the historic mission of the Czechoslovak people. Today the Czechoslovak Republic plays the same role. It is designed above all to afford the Czechoslovak people, whose determined efforts, character and sacrifices have built it, the opportunity to live the full national life they have always visualized. Surely this state is theirs by right. It is true that members of other nationalities reside in Czechoslovak territories. But these nationalities have states of their own which grant them a full

and free development of their powers and capacities. Therefore they can lay no claim to our state. (1936)

*

Rosenberg, one of the leading philosophic exponents of nationalism in present-day Germany, has described us Czechs . . . as a worthless, degenerate and uncreative people. This makes it difficult to believe that Rosenberg's Germany can really wish to take back our German fellow-citizens, in whose veins flows the blood of our worthless and degenerate nation. Can Germany care to claim our German fellow-countrymen, so many of whom are direct descendants of Czech forefathers—not to mention those with non-Aryan blood? Of course there are, on the other hand, many Czechs whose more or less remote ancestors were German settlers in our territories. Those who know the history of the German element in our country realize that only a small number of our German fellow-countrymen could satisfy the exacting German ideal of racial purity.

But even if we leave this important fact out of consideration, it is scarcely possible to speak seriously of uniting with Germany those regions of our country which are inhabited by Germans. . . . (1936)

EDVARD BENEŠ

Edvard Beneš, disciple and friend of Masaryk and his successor to the Presidency of the Republic and the leadership of his nation, was born in 1884. He has frequently been called the most important European statesman of our time. His friends and followers are convinced that the present war would never have begun had his warnings and advice been heeded. Beneš fought valiantly for collective security, particularly in Geneva, where he was General Secretary of the Disarmament Conference and for a time Chairman of the League Council. During the First World War Beneš, then in his early thirties, helped Masaryk and Štefánik to organize Czechoslovak activities abroad. After the War he was Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia for seventeen years. In 1935 he succeeded Masaryk as President of the Republic. In 1938, after Munich, he went abroad, and in 1939 served as professor at Chicago University. After the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, on March 15, 1939, the Czechoslovak organizations in America and other countries urged him to head the second Czechoslovak exile movement. Foreseeing the outbreak of the war, he went to England in July, 1939, and here, in July, 1940, he established the Czechoslovak Government in Exile, which has been recognized by England and her Allies. Czechoslovak citizens in Czechoslovakia itself and throughout the world look upon him as their leader, as twenty-five years ago they looked upon Masaryk as their leader.

The first of the two statements quoted here was made in 1933, the second in December, 1940, in London, at the opening session of the Czechoslovak Parliamentary Council.

OF CZECHOSLOVAK UNITY

At this time, let every Czechoslovak realize the full significance of recent European developments and how they are affecting us.

Let us remember that now for the first time in history Czechs and Slovaks have achieved a national awakening and liberation, and full satisfaction of their political demands. All their people have been united in a homogeneous state of their own. At the same time freedom and unity were regained by the Poles. The Yugoslavs, also united in their own homogeneous state for the first time, are struggling for national unity.

But all these achievements are seriously endangered today. The growth of neighboring nationalisms threatens to destroy the edifice which we constructed with so many sacrifices during and after the war. And precisely at this moment our old, traditional sin reasserts itself and threatens to undermine our state from within. It finds expression in separatist dreams, trends, programs and concrete plans for Slovak autonomy. There is talk against the unity of our Czechoslovak nation; talk in Slovakia against the Czechs and in Bohemia against the Slovaks. The loyal efforts of truly patriotic Slovaks are misunderstood. Short-sighted politicians obey the dictates of local, provincial, factional and individualistic interests. They do not realize that they are doing the work of the eternal adversary of our nation, to whom Slovakian autonomy is only the first step toward his ultimate goal—a return to pre-war conditions!

Today the mission of Slovaks and Czechs is to complete the historical development toward the unification of our people and of the other peoples of Central Europe. We must create numerically strong, unified, powerful national bodies, able to withstand all attacks from other strong nations. Will the Poles, Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs realize that present developments in Europe demand the end of all destructive particu-

larism? That we must achieve full national unity at last, as the English did after centuries of struggle, the French by their great Revolution? This is the fateful hour of our history. Thanks to the outcome of the World War, a fortunate constellation of international politics, and the courage and sacrifices of our people, victory is ours today.

Is it possible that the young nations of Central Europe do not understand their duty? Can they be indifferent to the aim of creating united, strong nations with a cultural future of their own? Do not the Slovaks realize that the Russian Revolution is only a means of restoring Russia's great mission in Europe? Are they blind to the titanic struggle of the Poles for national unity and strength? Despite internal difficulties, the Poles have even submitted to an authoritarian regime the better to attain this goal. Similarly, a united Yugoslavia has chosen to risk an authoritarian regime, largely for the sake of national unification. . . .

Luckily, we can achieve our own national unification by democratic methods. We do not want to employ authoritarian means. But for that very reason we must be able to count on the loyalty of all Slovaks and Czechs to their nation and their history. We demand that they abandon their petty bickering. They must grasp the full significance of the present European trend towards the creation of large ethnical units. To those who do not understand this European trend, let this be a friendly warning. They are struggling against an irresistible current, to the great advantage of none but our enemies.

In fifty or a hundred years our children and grandchildren will discuss at home, at school, at political meetings and universities the decisive epoch of the World War and the first post-war decade. Future generations will see how the struggle for national existence and freedom culminated in our times. The famous upheavals set off by the French Revolution; the grand movement for our national rebirth in the first half of

the nineteenth century; the great years 1848, 1860 to 1868; our campaigns for an Austro-Hungarian constitution and for liberation from the Dual Monarchy; and our first successful steps toward Czechoslovak unification—will all be seen to have borne rich fruit in our day.

Succeeding generations will see how all this moved forward with a crushing force which could not be stemmed. They will understand that all our attempts to compromise with the old monarchy, our long negotiations with Vienna and Budapest, the efforts of Havlíček, Palacký, Rieger, Masaryk and Kramář to reach an understanding with the ruling powers, or those of Bernolák, Štúr and Hurban, inevitably led to a unified state. They also brought about a cultural unity of the Czechoslovak peoples, while sensibly preserving characteristic traits and permitting the development of both our idioms. . . . The dynamic of this idea is as strong as the national dynamic of Italian and German unity. The biological development of our national body bars all other solutions. The generally accepted sociological laws which govern the creation of national unity force us into this solution, in spite of all opposition here or abroad. . . . (1933)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT WAR

The World War of 1914-18 fundamentally changed the political map of Europe and the world. It brought about great economic and social changes. It is rightly described as a world revolution, and will be considered the milestone of a new epoch, as was the French Revolution, which brought into being the bourgeois world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The last twenty years now appear only as an armistice, in which the issues raised by the World War were still being fought. In those twenty warless years they were not decided by peaceful agreements, and so they are now being decided by Hitler and Mussolini's war. The First World War was the

166

beginning of this revolution; the twenty years of peace were an interlude of slower change. The present war is the continuation of the war of 1914-18. Its results will bring to completion the changes begun a quarter of a century ago.

Masaryk said, and I myself defended the same idea in my *War Memoirs*, that the World War gave a decisive impulse to the democratization of the whole European world. It is possible to characterize it as a struggle for world democracy. This remains true, although the post-war development of Europe assumed the form of a sharp fight for the strengthening of democratic freedom only up to 1929, while from 1929-30, in most of the European States, anti-democratic forces and tendencies were in the ascendant.

This conception has not been accepted everywhere. In considering the World War, some picture two blocs of Powers with their material resources, as if it were only a question of dynastic and national prestige, of the punishment of Serbia for her irredentist antics, and as if the whole war were only a grandiose struggle in the realm of power politics between two groups of States (the Allies and the Central Powers). Others have seen it as a struggle between nationalisms. For their own ends certain German nationalist circles, especially at the beginning of the World War, spoke of the menace to Europe of barbaric Russian Cossackism, and of the war of Teutons against Slavs.

Both these conceptions of the war of 1914-18 are excessively political, and therefore one-sided. Nothing at all is said of the significance of the social and economic aspects of the struggle for the freedom of the individual in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The conception of the World War as expounded by the orthodox socialists and communists is more complete. For them the World War was a capitalistic and imperialistic war, a war for colonies, for the domination of world markets, for the economic resources of Central Eu-

rope, the Near East, and North Africa. This conception, however, reduces all causes and consequences of the war to economic and socio-economic factors; it takes as the basis of its arguments the theory of historical materialism.

Like Masaryk, I do not accept these theories. I maintain that moral, religious, and national factors, as well as psychological and spiritual phenomena, cannot, from the standpoint of metaphysics, be converted into material—i.e., economic—factors or be entirely explained by them. I therefore consider this explanation of the World War scientifically inaccurate. I believe that the war of 1914 can best be characterized as a revolution and a struggle for European and world democracy.

Democracy—even though up to the last war the development of Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was considered chiefly in terms of politics—represents for me not only a political regime, characterized by certain definite democratic institutions, but an effort towards consistent social and economic democracy.

In the World War all these problems arose in one form or another. The war was, however, an extremely complicated social phenomenon, involving a great number of political, economic, technical, moral, psychological, biological, and other elements. Without a unifying formula for its essence and meaning we can understand neither what happened after the war and up to 1939 nor what is happening in Europe today. Without such a formula we cannot decide what we should and can do politically in this war and after it.

What I am saying here means that twenty years of post-war European politics were only a continuation of the political and spiritual revolution brought about by the war of 1914. The war of 1939 is only a further stage of this great revolutionary European and world transformation. The original, more expressly political revolution during and after the war of 1914, the post-war struggle among the political systems of

democracy, Fascism, and Communism, and the present war that has resulted from this struggle, is turning ever more into a war for the transformation of the whole of modern Europe, economically and socially, as well as politically.

In the present war, the tremendous European struggle of the last war has been renewed, and in a much more brutal form. From 1914-18 to 1939 the struggle for democracy was fought out on all fronts. In the internal politics of the individual States the fight was first against Fascist and then Nazi reaction. In the sphere of foreign policy, the liberated nations struggled to maintain their existence, integrity, sovereignty, and freedom against the attacks and conspiracies of the expansionist Dictatorships. On the League of Nations front it was a struggle to maintain the new post-war order and respect for international obligations and treaties.

The war of 1939 is only the final issue of this struggle. On the front of internal policy we find the present authoritarian ideologies and anti-democratic regimes analogous to the absolutist regimes in the States of the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany). In the sphere of international policy there were again created, as in 1914, two camps: the democratic bloc (Great Britain and initially France, with the indirect aid of the United States) and the authoritarian, dictatorial camp (Germany and Italy, with Japan as an ally). The Soviet Union takes towards these two groups the same position—in theory opposed to one, in practice opportunist—as Lenin's revolutionary Soviet Russia took in 1917 towards the two camps of that time.

The campaign of Pan-Germanism and Fascist Nationalism from 1935 on took on a more emphatic form than had been the case in the war of 1914 with the expansionist policy of Imperial Germany. Fascism and National Socialism are the most extreme form of Chauvinisms known to history; their final consequence is inhuman barbarism and bestial absurdity. This

new monster must inevitably wage bitter war on the newly-liberated smaller nations born out of the last war. It also menaced the other smaller nations wherever they stood in the way of international Fascism and National Socialism.

Behind all this there has been developing, as in the war of 1914, the struggle for social and economic justice. As in the last war, Communism gives the most extreme expression of this struggle, thus threatening not only its sworn foes, Fascism and National Socialism, but also the bourgeois democracies. The latter, finding themselves assailed from both sides, first attempted to move from Left to Right, then from Right to Left. In the end they were forced to fight for their very existence on both the internal and external fronts against Fascism as well as against Communism and under incredibly unfavorable conditions. Both Fascism and National Socialism have understood that they can successfully defend themselves against Communism by pretended Bolshevization and social and economic demagoguery. This demagoguery has at the same time severely shaken bourgeois democracy, which since the last war has not had the courage to face and solve its economic and social problems by swift and radical measures.

Since the present war is the continuation of the war of 1914-18, it is quite immaterial whether the pretext for it was the German minority in Czechoslovakia, or the question of Danzig, or anything else. The same questions, the same interests, the same struggles, are again at stake in this war. But the historical conflict has reached a further stage; a final radical solution has become unavoidable. We are, in fact, confronted with the question whether democracy or dictatorship, totalitarianism and State absolutism, will win out. In international policy the question is: can a balance of power and a lasting compromise be reached among the Great Powers, together with guarantees for the existence of the small States and nations; will the barbarous, inhuman and criminal Fascist and

Pan-German Nationalism be liquidated for all time? and will Fascism, Communism, or democracy gain the victory in the political, social, and economic spheres? To win, democracy must have the courage to carry out two essential measures. The first is to effect a decisive solution of its internal social and economic problems; the second is to revise all the elements in its political system that have proved faulty. Political democracy must, in fact, make certain necessary modifications in the parliamentary and party system and create a more effective and successful form of administration.

This war will cause changes even more profound, more far-reaching and universal than those brought about by the last war. In all respects, the times through which we are passing are of a very revolutionary character. At the end of the present war and of the years immediately following it, we shall be confronted by great changes of political, social, and economic regimes, changes perhaps as extensive as those in Europe after the French Revolution. Hard struggles and difficult situations will arise. Everywhere in Central Europe we shall have more difficult conditions after this war than we had after the last one. It is important that after this war we be even more careful to maintain reason, good sense, and balance.

Thus this war is not, in my opinion, any special turning-point. From 1914-18, through the years of struggle for democracy or dictatorship in Europe, up to the attack on Czechoslovakia, through Munich, to the war of Germany, Poland, France and Great Britain, the fall of France and to the present titanic struggle of British democracy, I have maintained a position which I have never changed, and which I do not wish in any way to change even today: that the ideals of democracy must of necessity prevail and will prevail when this great struggle for a new Europe and a new world is done.

(1940)

CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

Ivan Dérer, Slovak jurist, writer and statesman, was born in 1884. He entered politics and fought against the Magyarization of the Slovaks. From 1918 on he was a member of the Czechoslovak Parliament, and from 1918 to 1938 he held various posts in Czechoslovak governments—as Minister for Slovakia, Minister for the Unification of the Law, and Minister of Justice. Throughout his life he fought unflinchingly for the national unity of Czechoslovakia. Both of the extracts cited here are from his book, The Unity of the Czechs and Slovaks, which was published in Prague in 1938.

THE UNITY OF THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

The centralist Slovaks believe that only the closest possible intellectual, cultural and political unity between Czechs and Slovaks can ensure the full development of Czech and especially Slovak life. Czechoslovak national unity means that the Slovaks can feel themselves to be the state nation everywhere throughout the whole country. It means that the Slovak language can be freely used not only in the restricted limits of its own home but also in the other parts of the republic. In other words, the Czechoslovak conception of national unity makes us Slovaks a nation ten million strong and not a mere fraction of two million.

How can there be Slovaks who fail to understand this conception and accept instead the autonomistic conception? Why do they reject a role of growing importance for the Slovak language and the Slovak element in favor of the more modest position offered by autonomy?

I cannot go into all the causes of this phenomenon at this

point. One of them is Hungarianism, a Hungarian mentality. For nearly a thousand years the Slovaks were part and parcel of the Hungarian State. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Magyars fell under the Turkish yoke, Hungary actually consisted only of Slovakia and one or two smaller territories. Yet the Slovaks in those days lived in economic, social and political subjugation to the Magyars. The free classes, the gentry, the nobles, the priesthood and the townspeople were Hungarian. When serfdom was abolished in 1848, these ruling classes attempted to keep the liberated masses under control by means of Magyarization. Thus they separated the Slovaks from the Bohemians and Moravians. The Hungarian State sought to maintain a Hungarian spirit not merely in the ruling upper classes but especially, by systematic inculcation, in the broad masses of the Slovak people. The autonomist efforts to bring about an artificial separation of the Slovaks from the Czechs are in substance relics of this thousand-year-old Hungarianism. Despite the tremendous harm it has done the Slovaks this Hungarianism never succeeded in breaking up the national unity of the Czechs and Slovaks. However, it has aroused in many Slovaks a desire to see Slovakia separated to some extent at least from the Czech lands, thus giving rise to the autonomy movement.

As has been pointed out, Hungarianism ensured the security of the ruling classes and the subjugation of the masses. It enabled the nobility and the gentry, as well as the townspeople, the bulk of the priesthood and the intelligentsia, the product of Magyar schools, to hold full sway over the Slovak masses living wretchedly in total spiritual and mental neglect. Yet generation after generation of Slovaks was so intensely Magyarized throughout many centuries that even the break-up of Hungary and the liberation of Slovakia did not free the Slovaks entirely from the moral consequences of a thousand years of subjugation and serfdom.

These conditions are described with fine penetration by the Slovak writer Timrava in her novel *Two Ages*. In it she portrays the life of a Slovak village before the World War. She draws a vivid picture of the moral and mental degradation of the Slovak masses who submit to every possible provocation on the part of the denationalized intelligentsia. The yoke they have borne for a thousand years has dulled their minds so that they are no longer conscious of their human and national dignity. Indeed, they have sunk so low that they laud their own murderers and abuse those who oppose tyranny. This aspect of Slovak life evokes from the writer the bitter exclamation: "Slaves!"

She goes on to describe this same village after the First World War. The Slovak cause has triumphed, the Slovak language is reborn, all that the best men of the nation once dreamed has at last come true. She describes the regeneration of the masses. Not only do they gain self-respect and self-confidence when their language becomes the official language of the state and their interests are considered the interests of the state. Their cultural, economic and social lot is also improved. With admirable cogency she depicts those enemies of the people who have changed only superficially, or only pretend to have changed their attitude. In reality they exploit the slightest mistake or shortcoming of the new government and stir up trouble with their sneering, spiteful criticism. And the masses, for whom the great change was made, succumb to these seducers and abuse their own freedom. Those who were apathetic before, accepting the greatest oppression as quite natural, today passionately criticize and exaggerate the most insignificant faults. Nothing satisfies them. Again the writer justly cries out: "Slaves!"

Yes, many of the former slaves are free in name only, for the servile spirit is still within them. The autonomist movement is the expression of this persistent servility. The child

waking from a long, sound sleep rubs its eyes and does not realize that it is no longer asleep. It wants to sleep on and is angry when its parent rouses it to greet the bright, though work-filled day. Such is the character of the autonomist movement. But this is a passing condition. On the basis of the election returns it is plain that the greater part of Slovakia has already arisen from its sleep to the fullness of Czechoslovak life. Only a few still cling to their barren autonomist dreaming. But this last relic of an ancient servitude will also disappear. Nations develop slowly, and so we must be patient.

But this is our problem, and we Slovaks must solve it ourselves. And we shall solve it. I have not the slightest doubt that the Czechoslovak idea will triumph.

THE QUESTION OF THE SLOVAK LANGUAGE

The former Hungarian regime injured the Slovaks most of all by excluding their language from public offices and courts of law. Since the passing of Count Albert Apponyi's Education Act in 1907, the Slovak language has even been almost completely excluded from the curriculum of the schools.

As an example of a common experience I quote my own case. Although I was a Slovak by birth and came from a parish that was almost purely Slovak I never at any time attended a Slovak school. In my native locality there was no Slovak elementary school because the Hungarian government had Magyarized the Slovak system of education and Slovak children studied their lessons in the Magyar tongue. Subsequently I attended a Magyar secondary school. Why not a Slovak school? Because ever since the seventies the Hungarian government did not tolerate a single secondary school, grammar school, modern school, teachers' training college, not even a single upper-elementary school in which Slovak was the medium of instruction. Yet there were two million Slovaks in old

Hungary. There are many well-known cases of Slovak pupils who were excluded from schools for the sole reason that they had been found reading Slovak books, newspapers or other literature. The encouragement of the Slovak language and literature was regarded as "Pan-Slavism" and bordered upon high treason. When the Slovak deputy Juriga asked in the Hungarian Chamber for at least one Slovak Gymnasium (secondary school) he was shouted down with cries of "hang him!"

Naturally I also finished my higher studies at a Magyar university, there being no Slovak university. The Slovaks were not even allowed to cultivate their language in private literary institutions. The Slovak Matica—the nation's popular institute of literary education—was closed by the Hungarian government and its property confiscated. I studied law and became a lawyer. But I was not allowed to conduct the cases of my Slovak clients in the Slovak language. The laws relating to procedure before the courts and other public offices prescribed the official Magyar language even for Slovaks. All other use of the Slovak tongue on the part of the intelligentsia in their public activities, and even in their private and family life, was regarded by the ruling class in Hungary as prohibited "Pan-Slavism."

Such were conditions in Slovakia when in the year 1918 representatives of societies composed of Slovaks who had left their oppressed homeland for free America met at Pittsburgh with the representatives of Czech societies in order to lay down a program of future action. It is only natural that the first thought of the Slovaks was that the deplorable conditions existing in Slovakia should be remedied. Thus there was included in the Pittsburgh protocol the sentence "the Slovak language shall be the official language in the schools, in public offices, and in public affairs generally."

One of the most important laws passed by the Czechoslovak

Republic is the Language Act (No. 122 of the year 1920). It provides that the official language of Czechoslovakia is the Czechoslovak language, to be used (except in the case of the national minorities, who are permitted to use their own languages) in all courts, publications, institutions and enterprises of the state. Par. 4 of the Act elucidates the conception of the Czechoslovak language by providing that in Czech territories proceedings shall as a rule be conducted in Czech, and in Slovakia as a rule in Slovak, and that Slovak and Czech are to be held in equal esteem throughout the whole country. In other words, our state has converted the once suppressed Slovak tongue into the state language. What was stipulated at Pittsburgh has thus become a cardinal provision of the law of the Czechoslovak Republic.

This legal principle has encountered various grave difficulties in practice. The Hungarian State by its more than a hundred years of activity and policy directed towards this very end deprived the Slovaks of practically every primary condition for maintaining an independent state of their own. Thus, when the new state was set up there were not enough Slovaks who could speak the language of their nation or knew its literature. Hungarian law had never been translated into Slovak; there was no official, or juridical or even technical Slovak terminology. A literature did exist, but there was no established orthography; there was hardly an adequate grammar. Officials, judges and magistrates, lawyers, notaries, professors, and in general people who fulfilled public functions were only in very exceptional cases acquainted with the Slovak language. The new state first of all had to help remedy this deplorable state of things and develop the primary conditions for the use of the Slovak tongue. The very nature of the thing demanded both time and patience.

However, in the first few years after the First World War the autonomist agitation was indisputably carried on by people

who, prior to the revolution, had for the most part served the regime of Magyarization and begrudged the Slovaks the most elementary rights. It is true that Andrew Hlinka, the leader of the autonomist movement—though he sometimes carried his agitation too far—at crucial moments always supported the cause of Czechoslovak unity. However, the dark machinations of the former pro-Magyars (or Magyarones—persons of Slovak origin who had completely gone over to the Magyar cause) persisted in the background. These people said: "If Slovakia can no longer be a part of Greater Hungary let us at least have territorial and political autonomy." They calculated that in an autonomous Slovakia they could retain the power they had held in old Hungary. They could then prepare to overthrow the status created by the Peace Treaties and restore Slovakia to Hungary. In the early years after the revolution the atmosphere in Slovakia was poisoned by hordes of such people.

Hlinka tried to divert this current to his movement and give it a Slovak and constitutional direction. It cannot be doubted that he thereby considerably counteracted the harmful influence of the Magyarones. Yet he proved himself incapable of preventing these elements from frequently getting the upper hand and influencing his policy. Not wishing to lose the support of their numerous following, he was often forced to give way to them. But with the growing consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic the Magyarones accommodated themselves to the new order. The majority of them frankly admitted their previous errors, and there can be no doubt of their unconditional loyalty to the Slovak character. But even though they have abandoned their former Hungarian orientation, remnants of it are still evident in their anxiety for secession from the Czechs. They even attempt to plant such ideas in the hearts and minds of the young generation. This pleases a certain section of pre-revolution Slovak

society which is so devoted to its national peculiarities that for their sake it would sacrifice some of the ties which bound us to the Czechs even during the period of subjection to the Magyar yoke.

Those behind this movement do not like the terms of the Language Act. They demand that the expression "Czechoslovak" shall be deleted and that the Slovak language shall be used exclusively in Slovakia. Legally the Czechoslovak language means the general use of Czech in Czech territories and of Slovak in Slovakia, while at the same time either of the two idioms may be freely used in any part of the Czechoslovak Republic. Although, for example, my duties as a Minister of the Republic oblige me to stay in Prague, I make almost all my official speeches in the Slovak language even in Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia. This of course applies not only to me but to other officials as well. By uniting the Czech and Slovak tongues in the juridical conception of a "Czechoslovak language" our Language Law has made the Slovak tongue the state language throughout the entire state, on an equal footing with the Czech. Yet some of our autonomists would agree to the exclusion of Slovak from Czechia just in order to be able to exclude the Czech language from Slovakia, thus in effect cutting off their noses to spite their faces.

We centralist Slovaks, on the other hand, support the existing legal conception of the Czechoslovak language, since it expresses the national unity of Czechoslovakia and enables a Slovak to feel at home in Czech territories as well as his own. Moreover, the term "Czechoslovak language" accurately indicates that we are dealing with a single language which has two equivalent forms of expression.

The autonomists falsely assert that there is no Czechoslovak language and that Czech and Slovak are two different languages. This is like insisting that there is no German language but only Prussian, Saxon, South German, Alsatian, etc. The

fact is that between the most divergent Czech and Slovak dialects there are no such fundamental differences as exist, for example, between the dialects of northern and southern Germany. The dialects of western Slovakia, to cite a notable instance, are actually closer to literary Czech than to literary Slovak. The dialects of eastern Slovakia are as closely related to Czech as to literary Slovak. The English spoken in the United States differs somewhat in pronunciation and spelling from that spoken in England. Yet no one will insist that there is a fundamental difference between these two idioms, though the two worlds are divided by a great ocean. It is true that the literary language of the Czechs differs from that of the Slovaks. But in the course of history almost every civilized nation has altered its written language without thereby changing its tongue. Though the Norwegians have two literary languages it never occurs to anyone to deny the existence of the Norwegian tongue. In this sense the Czechoslovak language actually exists and always has existed. And when certain autonomists label it a post-war invention they come into conflict with fact. The truth is that precisely because of the unity of their tongues the Czechs and Slovaks have for nearly one thousand years employed a joint literary language—Czechoslovak. This has been recognized by all Slovaks who studied this language in its scientific and literary aspects. We mention in this connection Benedict of Nedožery in the sixteenth century, and Daniel Krman, Matej Bél, and Pavel Doležal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the year 1803 there was founded at Bratislava a famous chair of “Czechoslovak Language and Literature” which was held by Juraj Palkovič and after him by Ludevít Štúr. This chair was abolished by the Hungarians in 1844, but until then Štúr was the most ardent champion of the Czechoslovak language, which he considered to be the mother tongue of all Slovaks. Jozef Miloslav Hurban and other Slovak pioneers of the past century used and described

Czechoslovak as the literary expression of the Slovak tongue. After the Hungarian revolution of the fifties had been suppressed the Slovak Catholics and Protestants unanimously reverted to this language. They regarded it as so expressive of the Slovak character that they even called it "Old Slovak." As late as the fifties Andrej Radlinsky and the famous Bishop Mojzes acknowledged it on behalf of the Catholics with the same enthusiasm as the Protestant leaders Lichard and Kuzmány. Its greatest opponent, the pro-Hungarian Samuel Czambel, likewise accorded it full recognition and devoted more than one learned study to it.

Czechoslovak as a literary conception did not disappear even after Slovak had been definitively adopted as an independent literary language in the latter half of the eighteenth century. To this very day the Slovak Protestants use the Czechoslovak Kralice Bible and the Czechoslovak hymn book of Tranoscius, the most widely circulated book in Slovakia. Czechoslovak is still the liturgical language and the catechetical language of the Slovak Protestants. Even the Slovak Catholics frequently use Czechoslovak hymnals and prayer books. Thus we may safely say that Czechoslovak is to this day a living Slovak church language, in line with the most sensitive and intimate traditions of the Slovak people.

All Slovaks today unanimously regard the Slovak literary language which was established in 1844 under the leadership of Štúr and took root in the second half of the past century as the established literary expression of Slovak life. We differ only in that some autonomists will resort to any means in order to separate Slovak from Czech, while we centralists encourage both literary languages to flourish and grow closer together.

To sum up, the Czechoslovak language exists in a three-fold sense:

1. As the common literary language of the Czechs and Slovaks for centuries, and as the living church and liturgical language in Slovakia;
2. As the living vehicle of the various Czech, Moravian and Slovak dialects, aside from differences in their literary forms;
3. In the juridical sense as the official language of the Czechoslovak Republic.

I have already mentioned the fact that the establishment of Slovak in the spirit of the Pittsburgh Protocol at first met with considerable hardships in the new state. Paradoxically it was the great bulk of present-day Slovak autonomists who impeded the due establishment of the language in the early years after the War. The fact is that a great proportion of today's autonomists, especially those recruited from the ranks of the government employees, railway workers, postal officials, teachers, priests, lawyers and the like were completely ignorant of literary Slovak at the time of the revolution. Unable to use the language in their work, many of them did not even desire it, having become fully accustomed to Magyar in their official as well as their private lives. The English historian and publicist Seton-Watson, the leading foreign authority on Slovakia, estimated before the War that the number of educated Slovaks who knew literary Slovak did not exceed 1,000. This was less than ten per cent of the total Slovak intelligentsia. The others considered and proclaimed themselves as Magyars.

In view of this everyone, including the pre-war Slovak autonomists, felt after the revolution that the Slovaks could not be freed from the dominance of the Magyar tongue and the Magyar element without the help of the Czechs. Without Czech professionals and white collar workers—and in many cases even priests, monks and nuns—the Pittsburgh agreement could not have been carried out in Slovakia. The Slovaks had been a nation of peasants, workers and petty artisans. A

Slovak intellectual class of officials, priests, teachers and the like was lacking, and aside from insignificant exceptions all the rest had been Magyarized, including a large proportion of skilled workers, artisans and traders. Finance and banking, industry and commerce were overwhelmingly in the hands of non-Slovak and anti-Slovak elements. Without Czech aid the tiny group of educated Slovaks would never have been able to break down the vast preponderance of those who controlled the whole state apparatus, the means of communication, the schools, the church, the courts, and the financial and economic life of the country. Without Czech help the Slovak language would never have triumphed in Slovakia.

KAREL ČAPEK

Karel Čapek, the greatest Czech writer of our day, was born in 1890 and died during Christmas, 1938. His dramas (R. U. R.; The Life of the Insects) and novels brought him world renown and his works were translated into all important languages. He was an intimate friend of T. G. Masaryk. Both shared a deep interest in Anglo-Saxon culture; both devoted themselves to English literature. One product of this friendship was Čapek's book of conversations with Masaryk (Masaryk in Thought and Life), which has often been compared with Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe. Čapek is considered one of the masters of Czech style. An active journalist (columnist of the leading Czech daily, Lidové Noviny), he took a stand on all questions of the day. He was both patriot and cosmopolitan, and though always a Czech to the core, he had a deep understanding and sympathy for the whole of Western culture. Indeed, this may be said of the entire Czech intelligentsia. He died only a few months after Munich, which meant to him the destruction of the world in which and for which he lived. His death symbolized the end of an epoch in the history of Europe. Like many other Czechs, both famous and unknown, Čapek, too, died largely as a result of Munich.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia is reckoned among the new states. This is as it should be, since it was only in 1928 that we celebrated the first ten years of our state's existence. And yet, in 1929, we were able to celebrate the millennium of the old Czech State, dating back farther than that of William the Conqueror. It is nearly six hundred years since Prague University, the oldest university in Central Europe, was founded; yet only a hundred years ago there was not a single Czech institution of

higher learning in the country. Štítný, Huss, Chelčický and Comenius bear witness to the high level of culture enjoyed by this nation on the threshold of the modern era. Still, it is only a hundred years since this same nation began to create anew a literary language and a literature of its own. Imagine a nation from whose cultural evolution the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are blotted out! At the time of Voltaire and Lessing, this nation in the heart of Europe did not even possess spelling-books for its children. The schools were conducted in German, the towns were Germanized. Only the villages preserved the national tongue, but they were villages of serfs. Not until about a hundred years ago did it occur to a handful of romantic spirits to issue books in their own Czech language for this nation of artisans, servants and peasants, and to write again in a tongue that had lost its elasticity in two hundred years of literary neglect.

Miracles still happen in this world of ours: the first real poet of this reborn tongue, Mácha, the first historian, Palacký, and the first grammarian, Dobrovský, were geniuses of such caliber that seemingly at one stroke they restored the tradition of a lofty culture. Only seventy years ago Prague did not possess a Czech theater. Fifty years ago the ancient Czech university was recalled to life. To my knowledge there is no more stirring event in the history of all modern civilization than the rise of this little, energetic nation. . . .

In substance Czechoslovakia is a nation of "stay-at-homes," not gifted by nature to bring forth adventurers and conquerors. And yet was it not these "stay-at-homes" who won political freedom for their country on the battlefields in Serbia, in the Dobrudja, in Lombardy, in the Argonnes, in the Urals and in Siberia, as far as Vladivostok? Seventy thousand poorly-armed men made their way across the Siberian tundra and returned home by circumnavigating the globe. Besides fighting they founded printing presses, a bank and a theater; they

started an illustrated paper, printed books, and arranged sports and athletics. And after two years of this self-conducted adventurous journey round the world they returned as disciplined regiments, capable of taking the field again the very next day. All of you who know something of war can estimate the moral and physical achievement of these seventy thousand young men led by thirty-year-old generals. Can this be called a little country?

For three hundred years the Habsburgs ruled over this country, and ruled it badly. When the dynasty had destroyed the nation's religious freedom it distributed offices and estates to an alien nobility, made an ill-administered province out of the ancient state, and turned the whole nation into an impotent minority. Throughout the whole of the nineteenth century the Czech-and-Slovak nation struggled to preserve at least its language. I mention this to show that never was there a more justified revolution than that which in the course of the World War was conducted by Czechs and Slovaks against the Habsburg monarchy. It would have been only natural that a nation ill-treated for so long should, in the end, concern itself merely with its own salvation. Instead we are confronted with one of the most touching phenomena of history. A handful of our people headed by an aged philosopher, a few conspirators with lofty ideals but scarcely a farthing in their pockets, journeyed through Europe and America, proclaiming to the warring Powers not only that the Czechoslovak nation had a right to independence but that it was also essential to reconstruct Europe. They did not plead with the mighty to help us alone; these idealists convinced them that it was their duty to rescue the Poles, the Ruthenians, the Yugoslavs, the Czechs and the Slovaks from alien domination. They did not bring merely a map of their own country but a map of Europe. That aged philosopher, four years to the day after he had fled the country, returned as the President of the new state. His fellow worker,

186

Edvard Beneš, a university lecturer, is today known to all as an exponent of world peace and organization. The third conspirator, Milan R. Štefánik, a young astronomer, returned as a general of the French army. He was killed in an airplane crash at the very frontiers of his native land—an Icarus of our days. As you see, it was a revolution made by professors and thus incredibly romantic to an extent reached by few events in history.

During the last hundred years the Czechs and the Slovaks had to struggle consciously and desperately for their national existence and for their language—this minimum of liberty—against the Austrian Germans and against the Magyars. Germans and Magyars were the agents of Habsburg policy. The entire bureaucracy of the Habsburg monarchy was German and Magyar. For the Czechs, it meant an exhausting, embittered, daily struggle against denationalization, against a humiliating and unjust regime. During the World War there was added to all this a brutal regime of terror, mass executions and imprisonment of Czechs and Slovaks from the leaders of the nation down to women and young girls.

On the 28th of October, 1918, this nation of rebels won its freedom. But it took no revenge; not a single window was broken, not a drop of blood was spilled. Two or three days after the revolution, the heads of the Czechoslovak Government offered seats in the Convention Parliament to the German minority.

Before the war there existed under the Magyar regime for two million Slovaks no more than 276 elementary schools, not a single secondary school and only 3 political journals. Today, the Magyars in Czechoslovakia, who number less than three quarters of a million, possess 804 elementary, 14 upper elementary and 7 secondary schools as well as 49 political periodicals.

I think these few facts concerning the last dozen of years or so sufficiently indicate the character of this young State.

In these few contradictions you have the whole of Czechoslovakia: it is a country old and yet new, great yet small, highly cultivated and yet very simple. It is a miscellany of so many things as to seem at first sight a vast paradox. It is beautiful, but there are possibly places which are more so; it is rich, but there are wealthier lands; it has a high level of culture, but there are states which surpass it. Still, there is perhaps no country in the world which displays such vital determination and capacity as this small nation that has held its own in Central Europe in the past and will continue to do so in the future.

A small nation has less means and fewer opportunities. It has a smaller number of persons to choose from, and its conditions of life are infinitely more difficult than is the case with the larger nations. Every success that it secures is the work of a greater patience and represents a greater miracle; each of its accomplishments is the outcome of an intense application of its limited means. To cross the ocean in one of the biggest and most perfect liners signifies either a speed record or the result of sound organization; but to overcome the seas in a wooden barque is a romantic adventure reminiscent of the voyages of Captain Marryat—more a triumph of morale than of technique.

These general lines of our historical, geographical and political situation must be kept in view by all who desire to become really acquainted with Czechoslovakia. It is a far more romantic land than is generally realized. It has wild mountains, primeval forests and wondrous caverns. It is the home of a folklore peculiar to itself; it has ancient castles that seem like the magic castles of the moon, an infinite succession of precious gems of architecture and art. It has sweet and intimate landscapes. But more romantic and more wonderful than all those things are the fortunes of this sturdy and industrious nation

188

which still has before it the lofty summit of its miraculous risorgimento. (1932)

CROSSROADS OF EUROPE

From the very outset of her independent existence Czechoslovakia has based her whole life on democratic principles. Alone among the surrounding states she has never for a moment swerved from the great European tradition of spiritual and intellectual liberty, of civil equality and of social rights. Equally remote from Communism as from authoritarian conceptions, without internal convulsions, violence or revolution she has restored the national soil to the peasant and farmer; she has carried through a system of modern and social legislation; she has undertaken great economic, technical and organizational tasks, the weight of which falls increasingly upon the state. And last but not least she endeavors in the spirit of democratic freedom and justice to regulate her life in common with that of her racial minorities. From the foundation of the republic the government of the country has been in the hands of a coalition in which representatives of the conservative farmers, the Catholics and the socialists have never been lacking.

From the moment when the German parties themselves decided to take this step (in 1928), the German minority was directly represented in the cabinet by its own elected ministers. It would take too long to recount all that has been accomplished in the first twenty years of independence, and what was made out of a once neglected Austrian province. It is worthy of note, however, how little was written about it during those twenty years outside of the frontiers of Czechoslovakia. Peace and quiet and good order do not make a fertile topic.

This democratic spirit, this love of liberty and of peace is part and parcel of the very character of the Czechoslovak nation. Over and above that, however, T. G. Masaryk, the

Liberator and first President of our Republic, made those things the moral and political program of our people. For him, who lived to such a ripe old age, guiding our state for eighteen years, all politics meant but a realization of the love of our fellowmen. In his eyes democracy and liberty were based on respect for man, for every man; they issued from recognition of man's immortal soul and the infinite value of human life. For Masaryk the ultimate goal of all honest politics and all true statesmanship was to bring about the Kingdom of God upon earth. It is of profound significance that the constructive Slavonic humanism of our nation at such a fruitful moment should have been crossed on the one hand with the Anglo-Saxon humanism based upon religion and morals as represented by T. G. Masaryk, and on the other hand with the enlightened, rationalistic, humanitarian idealism of the French and Latin type which found its representative in Edvard Beneš. As you see, at this moment just as in all its history this land is the spiritual and intellectual crossroad of Europe; and it will always be the problem of all Europe who shall guard this crossroad, and in what manner and for what ends he shall guard it.

(1937)

THE SPIRIT OF THE CZECH UNIVERSITIES

Arne Novák, historian and critic of literature, a man of wide education and a brilliant stylist, was born in 1880 and died in 1940. From 1906 on he was an instructor at the Charles University in Prague, and in 1920 became professor at the Masaryk University in Brno. During the last two years of his life he was Rector of this university, having been elected to this post twice—a distinction rare in European universities. He was the author of numerous scientific, essayistic, critical and reflective works, and a member of many international learned societies. Both the speeches, which are here quoted only in part, were delivered after Munich in protest against Germany's actions in Czechoslovakia. The first was delivered on the occasion of the formal transfer of the insignia of the university, in December, 1938; the second in February, 1939, when he took office as Rector of the university for the second time. A few weeks later all of Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Germans. Novák fell ill and caused his own death by refusing to obey his doctor's orders.

AGAINST REGIMENTATION OF THE MIND

. . . For almost twenty years Brno has been the seat of the second Czech university. Generations of patriots had dreamed of such a university—and now at last their ambition is fulfilled. Our university prepares the youth for the professions of law, medicine and education. We have also served as the leading institution for scientific research. But we do not confine our ambition to being a Moravian university alone, though we are proud to serve our native land. We aspire to be

the second university in Czechoslovakia, working hand-in-hand with our older sister-institution of Prague. We want to work together with her in the field of science, so that we may exercise critical supervision of each other's work, seek out new methods of research, and supply interpretation and practical application for our discoveries. Our university consists of four faculties. On this day they receive the symbolic emblems of their work and they pledge themselves to cooperate in their cultural mission. We must strive to preserve all our academic gains and to protect our faculty. This is our pledge, and in accepting your gifts we acknowledge certain obligations toward you.

We have never lost sight of our final goal: it is to educate the successive generations, to teach them the good of the intellect. This spiritual education is our weapon against violence, be it the clashing violence of arms or the loud speeches of dictatorship. The university would betray its mission if it ceased to be governed by the Holy Spirit, Creator Spiritus. We repeat what the President of the Republic and the Premier of the Government said in their solemn addresses: It lies within our power to protect the freedom of research and learning, to protect freedom from the misguided rage of the mob as well as from formal government regimentation. Our ideals are those of the highest humanism, comprehending the wisdom of the ancient world and of Christianity. But our ideals are also based upon a consciousness of nationality. Therefore we at Masaryk University intend to foster first and foremost a sense of national solidarity. Our nation and our state is in dire need of keen minds, active hands and brave hearts. How else can we preserve what is left to us after this tragic year; how else will we ever regain what has been taken from us; how else can we speak words of comfort to our dear country, and promise that it shall again enjoy an honorable place alongside its

192

neighbors, among the free states of a better, fairer Europe that will be?

OUR SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION

Sixty years ago the rising star of the youthful poet Jaroslav Vrchlický was greeted with joyful surprise by the Czech public and its literary critics. The literary historian who studies the poet's letters and documents of the first half of the seventies can well appreciate this reaction. Such an enlightened approach to world literature, such penetrating observation, such courage and accuracy of literary judgment in a provincial high school student are indeed surprising. He strives to grasp the entire ancient and modern culture of Europe and at the same time to escape from the domination of German literature. His thorough understanding of Russian and English realism is amazing. The letters written during his university days and particularly during his two years' stay in Italy show a remarkable growth of critical maturity. One tendency emerges more and more—the acceptance of Romance literature and art as his model. His systematic study of Romance literature, his discussions with the French historian Ernest Denis, his sojourn in Italy, and possibly the influence of Žofie Podlipská, the young poet's beloved friend, modified his interests, taste and even the form of his poetry. The translator of Hugo, Leopardi and Dante becomes thoroughly familiar with French and Italian spiritual territory. The great masters whom he is translating stimulate his growth and become his models. He adopts their rhetoric, dialectic, their colorful yet monumental style, thereby breaking with the existing tradition of Czech poetry. This youthful genius becomes the representative personality of Czech poetry and determines its development.

Šalda, in his book *Soul and Work* has called Vrchlický's art the greatest revolution yet experienced by Czech culture. For us it is now a glorious stage in our cultural de-

Germanization. In view of the changed political conditions, should we perhaps censure and reject this weighty and far-reaching revolution in our cultural outlook? Should we perhaps agree with those who claim that the Czechs have always belonged to the German cultural sphere and decree that they had no right to free themselves from it, that it was to their disadvantage to do so? We answer in the words of our noble French friend, the poet Duhamel: even if our Maginot Line were to fall, we could not permit the loss of our line of Descartes, our line of Victor Hugo. These mean to us, and to all Europe, the striving for true classicism, for moderation and balance, for a critical and clear understanding of order and unity in works of art and of the intellect. And I say that no one shall take from us the freedom of seeking our own cultural direction. The choice of our spiritual orientation is our inalienable right . . .

Forty years ago, in the halls of what had once been the Jesuit College, a very different interpreter of literature gained our attention and our love. It was Vrchlický's polar opposite, the professor of philosophy, Thomas G. Masaryk. A genius in his own way, though not a creative spirit, he represented the critical leaven of our national culture. The works of the poets did not attract him on their artistic merits and his literary taste was more than once open to doubt. But in his apostolic ecstasy he taught us something we had not learned from Vrchlický—to understand the thought-content of our belles-lettres, especially their religious and ethical import. He showed us how to use books as spurs to ethical perfection, as stimuli of our social conscience. An admirer of England and Russia, he also weaned us away from Germanic influences. Like Vrchlický, the exponent of Romanic culture, he also brought us up to be Europeans; he also taught us that men must learn to become true sons of God. Intending to counter-balance Vrchlický, he

unconsciously supplemented him as well. Only an ungrateful pupil could forget such a teacher.

The student who seeks knowledge only in the halls of his university will hardly reach spiritual independence. We too often played truant when, at the turn of the century, we studied the history of literature at the University of Prague. We were attracted not only to Vrchlický and Masaryk but also, "by the birdman's lure," to a man entirely dissociated from the university, who did not hesitate to pay for his social and critical independence by enduring great material privations. F. X. Šalda, the feared and lonely critic, engaged in a stubborn struggle against Vrchlický, enriched our literary perception in ways foreign to both Vrchlický and Masaryk, the two men with whom he nevertheless shared his view of the world. Šalda pointed the way toward the existential meaning of poetry and art in human society. He clarified for us the creative act in poetry and its organic nature.

I have presented three types of intellect destined to teach the essence of literature to a matured humanity: the poet, the philosopher, the critic. They represent three kinds of approach to culture and to life: the esthetic, the ethical, the critical way. Only a synthesis of these three ways will ensure the perfection of what the poet calls the highest earthly good: true personality.

The aim of years spent in study at the university should not be merely the accumulation of knowledge, the scientific preparation for practical life, a grasp of scientific methods, or even the preparation for academic examinations. All these are only factors in a higher mission which is to foster and develop the personality. In our troubled times, great obstacles are laid in the path of this mission. The totalitarian states want to regiment the personality of the individual, to control his opinions and acts, his convictions and decisions, his choice of material as well as spiritual values. Freedom of thought and action is to

them a mere catch phrase, to be discarded without hesitation at the behest of class or national interests. Many have ceased to care for freedom and yearn for authority. They are even willing to accept authoritarian violence, bloodless or otherwise. Young Vrchlický quotes the great words of St. Augustine: *Veritas filia temporis, non autoritatis*, which may be freely rendered as "Truth is the free child of time, she does not yield to force."

To you students I say: Guard well the freedom of the spirit, the divine spark of Prometheus! Let it help you to become real personalities, citizens with truly social feeling, intellectuals with a living sense of beauty and critical judgment which does not permit itself to be regimented or violated.

SLAVERY, 1941

The following essay appeared on March 2, 1941, in the daily newspaper, The Oregonian, Portland, Oregon. Its author, Dr. Frank Munk, was born in Czechoslovakia in 1901, and after completing his academic studies became an expert in problems of marketing and distribution at the Charles University in Prague. He was also a member of the Social Institute of the Ministry of Social Welfare. From 1931-33 he engaged in research as a Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation, studying at Harvard, Columbia, Chicago University and the Brookings Institute. Since 1939 he has been a member of the faculty of Reed College, Portland, Oregon. In 1941 he published The Economics of Force (George W. Stewart, New York), a book which has won wide acclaim among scholars.

All over the continent of Europe we are witnessing already what a totalitarian "peace" would mean. We all are familiar with the bloodhounds, the concentration camps, the secret police, the regimentation and militarization. However, these are only the more spectacular aspects of total subjection. Even more destructive and oppressive is the unseen hand of economic and social enslavement which follows in the wake of the army, the S.S., the S.A. and the Gestapo. It is an iron hand whose intent it is to crush a people permanently and to prevent it from rising ever again in the future. Its methods are physical violence, terror and economic enslavement. Physical violence alone has proved to be incapable of destroying a people forever. Even terror may wear out and become less effective in the course of time. It is economic and social enslavement that is intended to keep the people down indefinitely.

Even members of the master race are of course subjected to dictatorship and regimentation. Nor do they enjoy any liberties or personal freedom of choice. Even members of the master race are slaves to their leader. It is, however, slavery sugar-coated by the feeling of being superior to other people and by the opportunity of showing off, of humiliating members of subject races. Every modern dictatorship needs a class of underdogs—or rather undermen—to create the feeling that its followers are a superior race. The Nazi of today must be given the spectacle of tortured, subjugated and humiliated peoples to make him feel superior and powerful. At first, when the real aims of totalitarianism had to be kept secret, the Jews were selected for this role. Other races and nations followed and more are chosen to follow in the future, so as to make the Germans forget their own humiliation by humiliating others.

There are many differences between the institution of slavery as it existed in old Athens or in the Old South before the Civil War, and present-day slavery. A slave of that time was owned by private individuals. In many periods, especially in Rome, he had actually a large measure of freedom. He could acquire property and many even became prosperous and wealthy. The slaves of today do not belong to private individuals but to the totalitarian state personified by the leader. This is not slavery, but super-slavery. In former times it was difficult to control slave labor. Ultimately slave labor became so expensive because of its inefficiency that it was cheaper to employ free workers than to use slaves.

Modern methods of mass production and control have changed this. It is relatively easy nowadays to control workers. Modern management and division of labor make control easier and sabotage more difficult than ever before. Mechanization of labor, job specification and scientific management make sabotage very risky. There is also this distinction: formerly slavery was an individual institution. There were individual men

slaves and individual women slaves. Today it has become mass slavery. Not individuals but whole nations are taken captive and enslaved. One might even say that whole nations have been kidnapped. This has the added advantage that the slave is not immediately aware of his new status. He is therefore more or less willing to cooperate up to a certain point, in order to save at least a minimum of his possessions. It is not only traitors like Quisling in Norway or Mussert in Holland, but sometimes even patriotic men of limited vision like Marshal Pétain of France or Dr. Hácha of Czechoslovakia, who think they can compromise with the invader. As Hitler has put it in *Mein Kampf*: "The masses do not realize that they are being terrorized and that their personal liberty is being taken away from them. All that they see is reckless power and brutality, to which they always finally succumb." There is another striking passage in this bible of hate that prospective slaves should read. It is the one where Hitler says: "A wise victor will, if possible, always impose his claim on the defeated people stage by stage. Dealing with a people which has grown defeatist—and this means every people which has voluntarily submitted to force—the victor can feel secure in the knowledge that in not one of his further acts of oppression will the vanquished find sufficient reason to take up arms again." It is enslavement by installments. Slaves are no longer bought. They are terrorized, propagandized and occasionally seduced into accepting bondage.

For almost a hundred years, more or less acute criticism has been directed at what the socialists call the expropriation of the fruits of labor by the so-called capitalist. Nowadays it is not the fruit of labor that is expropriated but a whole people with everything they possess. Their life, their families, their homes, their factories and fields, their liberties, their museums, their ships, their airplanes, everything material or immaterial, including physical goods and ideas, arts and sciences are taken

away and there is no one to whom they can appeal. It is a fantastic world where the Führer owns everything and millions of human beings nothing, not even their own persons.

Everything is an object of booty. A people's ideals are among the most precious things they possess. Therefore a concerted drive is being made in every subjected nation to alienate the people's ideals, their faith in democracy, culture, religion, literature, their hopes for the future. Libraries are burned, art galleries closed, museums despoiled of their treasures. Education is another pillar of a nation's life. Accordingly education is to be destroyed. That is why the universities of occupied France, of Czechoslovakia, and of Poland, together with all other institutions of higher learning were among the first objectives of the modern slave-holding class. A people is not fully enslaved as long as it has not lost its education and culture. And so intellectual leaders, professors, scientists, artists, writers, are among the first to fill the concentration camps in every occupied country. A nation that has not lost its education is not entirely destroyed. Universities and schools are closed, laboratories looted, libraries ransacked, school buildings transformed into barracks. Hitler promised a long time ago "to bring back to humanity the joys of illiteracy." He has made great progress during the last few years in fulfilling his promise.

Not only the individual and his labor have been expropriated. Families henceforward are to be only breeding grounds either for future warriors or for future slaves in case they are unfortunate enough to be born into a serf race. Science, too, has been expropriated and made into an instrument of slavery. The question is often being raised whether a people can be held indefinitely in subjugation. Nobody knows the answer but it is futile to say that it is impossible. There were slaves and subjects before, but never in a mechanized mass civilization like ours . . .

The great question with which we are faced today is not

whether England or Germany will win this war. It is not even a question of whether the world will continue in a capitalist or a socialist economy. All this has become subordinated to the only real issue of the hour, whether man will be free or slave. Lincoln's famous phrase that the nation cannot endure half slave and half free has again become agonizingly true, only this time it is not a nation, it is the world which cannot long continue torn between freedom and slavery, slavery in the fullest, unprecedented meaning of the word. The freedom of the whole world is at stake not only in the sense of freedom of political institutions. It is national, social, and economic freedom as well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- DEBORAH ALCOCK: *Crushed Yet Conquering. A Story of Constance and Bohemia*. The Religious Tract Society.
- NORMAN ANGELL: *Peace With the Dictators*. Hamish Hamilton.
- C. R. ATTLEE: *War Comes to Britain*. V. Gollancz Ltd. 1940.
- H. P. B. BAERLEIN: *In Czechoslovakia's Hinterland*. Hutchinson and Co.
- H. W. BALDWIN and SHEPARD STONE: *We Saw It Happen*. G. G. Harrap Ltd.
- GUSTAV BEČVAŘ: *Lost Legion*. Stanley Paul Ltd.
- BOHUŠ BENEŠ: *Czechoslovakia Its Sacrifice and Future*.
- DR. EDVARD BENEŠ: *Democracy Today and Tomorrow*. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1940.
- DR. EDVARD BENEŠ: *Nazi Barbarism in Czechoslovakia*.
- DR. EDVARD BENEŠ: *Czechoslovakia's Second Struggle for Freedom*.
- R. BIRLEY: *Czechoslovakia*. Oxford University Press.
- KAREL CAPEK: *Masaryk on Thought and Life*. (Conversations). G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- KAREL CAPEK: *Power and Glory*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- KAREL ČAPEK, V. CHALOUPECKÝ, J. L. HROMÁDKA, FRANT. HRUBÝ, A. PRAŽÁK, FERD. PEROUTKA: *at the Cross-roads of Europe. A historical outline of the democratic idea in Czechoslovakia*. Prague, 1938.
- THOMAS ČAPEK: *Bohemian (Czech) Bibliography*. Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918.
- S. GRANT DUFF: *Europe and the Czechs*. Penguin, 1938.
- GEORGES DUHAMEL: *The White War of 1938*. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1939.
- PAUL EINZIG: *Bloodless Invasion*. Duckworth Ltd.
- PAUL EINZIG: *World Finance 1939-40*. Routledge & Kegan, 1940.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- RICHARD FREUND: *Watch Czechoslovakia*. Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1938.
- G. T. GARRATT: *Europe's Dance of Death*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1940.
- G. E. R. GEDYE: *Fallen Bastions*. V. Gollancz Ltd.
- J. and J. GRIFFIN: *Lost Liberty. The Ordeal of the Czechs and the future Freedom*. Chatto and Windus, 1939.
- HANS HABE: *Sixteen Days*, G. G. Harrap, 1939.
- A. HENDERSON: *Eye-witness in Czechoslovakia*. G. G. Harrap, 1939.
- MAURICE HINDUS: *We Shall Live Again*. Collins Publishers, 1938.
- MAURICE HINDUS: *To Sing With The Angels*. Doubleday, Doran, 1941.
- E. B. HITCHCOCK: *Beneš: the Man and Statesman*. H. Hamilton, 1940.
- J. HRONEK: *It Happened in Czechoslovakia*.
- S. JAMESON: *Europe to Let. Memoirs of an Obscure Man*. Macmillan, 1940.
- LORD KALLININ: *Four Days*. Heinemann, 1939.
- R. J. KERNER: *Czechoslovakia, Twenty Years of Independence*. University of California Press, 1940.
- H. P. KIRKPATRICK: *This Terrible Peace*. Rich and Cowan, 1939.
- E. LENHOFF: *In Defence of Dr. Beneš and Czech Democracy*. Rich and Cowan, 1938.
- G. LIAS: *Beneš of Czechoslovakia*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- B. LOCKHART: *Guns or Butter*. Putnam.
- COUNT VON LUTZOV: *Bohemia. A historical sketch*. Everyman's.
- C. A. MACARTNEY: *The Danubian Basin*. Oxford pamphlet, 1939.
- J. MACKINTOSH: *The Path That Led to War. Europe 1919-39*. Blackie.
- CH. MADGE AND T. HARRISON: *Britain by Mass-Observation*. Penguin, 1939.
- T. G. MASARYK: *The Ideals of Humanity*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- T. G. MASARYK: *The Making of a State*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1927.
- VISCOUNT MAUGHAM: *Lies as Allies or Hitler at War*. Oxford University Press, 1940.
- SYDNEY MORREL: *I Saw the Crucifixion*. P. Davies Ltd., 1939.
- DR. FRANK MUNK: *The Economics of Force*. George W. Stewart, New York, 1941.

- DR. W. NECKER: *This Bewildering War*.
- B. NEWMAN: *Danger Spots of Europe*. R. Hale, 1938.
- H. NICHOLSON: *Why Britain Is at War?* Penguin, 1939.
- DR. P. PANETH: *Czechs against Germans*. I. Nicholson and Watson, 1939.
- S. PRIBICHEVICH: *Living Space. The story of South Eastern Europe*. W. Heinemann, 1940.
- DR. HUBERT RIPKA: *Munich Before and After*. V. Gollancz Ltd., 1939.
- G. H. ROBERTS: *Dr. Edward Beneš*. Pallas, 1939.
- SIR ARTHUR SALTER: *Security—Can We Retrieve It?* Macmillan, 1939.
- J. SCANLON: *Very Foreign Affairs*. G. Allen and Unwin, 1938.
- DR. G. SCHACHER: *Germany Pushes South-East*. Hurst and Blackett, 1937.
- B. E. SCHMITT: *From Versailles to Munich*. University Press of Chicago, 1938.
- F. L. SCHUMAN: *Europe on the Eve*. R. Hale, 1939.
- SCIPIO: *100,000,000 Allies If We Choose*. V. Gollancz.
- PAUL SELVER: *Masaryk*. Introduction by Jan Masaryk. Michael Joseph Ltd., 1939.
- R. W. SETON WATSON: *From Munich to Danzig*. Being the third edition of "Munich and the Dictators," revised and much enlarged.
- R. GRAM SWING: *How War Came*. Nicholson and Watson.
- THE TIMES: *Europe Under the Nazi Scourge*. 1940.
- D. THOMPSON: *Let the Record Speak*. H. Hamilton, 1939.
- WALTER TSCHUPPIK: *The Quislings, Hitler's Trojan Horses*. Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., 1940.
- W. PRESTON WARREN: *Masaryk's Democracy*. The University of North Carolina Press, 1941.
- ALEXANDER WERTH: *France and Munich, Before and After the Surrender*. Hamish Hamilton, 1939.
- MICHAEL LE WINCH: *Republic for a Day*. Robert Hale, 1939.
- ELIZABETH WISKERMANN: *Czechs and Germans*. Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EDGAR PHILIP YOUNG: *Czechoslovakia: Keystone of Peace and Democracy*. V. Gollancz, 1938.

CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: *Two Years of German Oppression in Czechoslovakia*.

